Painting and the Comedia in the Spanish Golden Age with particular reference to the portrait in the theatre of Lope De Vega and other contemporary dramatists.

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Painting and the 'comedia' in the Spanish Golden Age, with particular reference to the portrait in the theatre of Lope de Vega and other contemporary dramatists

by

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Abstract

In this thesis I argue that the theme of portraiture lay at the heart of dramatic theory and practice in the Spanish Siglo de Oro, and that this was part of a wider preoccupation with the development of new and appropriate literary metaphors. A sea-change took place in the early seventeenth century: the definition of fiction and theatre as a mirror and as a model (dechado) was eclipsed by the conviction that the notion of the portrait most accurately conveyed the techniques and objectives of writers and dramatists. Mateo Alemán's choice of the retrato metaphor to 'frame' his Guzmán in 1599, and the influence of that selection on later fiction inspired by such a popular work, clearly had a profound effect on the consolidation of the retrato as an unrivalled literary metaphor of the seventeenth century. I explore the background to this shift in metaphorical preference, which reached a decisive stage in dramatic theory between 1615 and 1622, with the 'lopista' insistence on the comedia as retrato fiel.

The portrait was a well-established component of European (and Asian) drama prior to the Siglo de Oro. I examine the development of specific conventions relating to the themes of painting and portraiture from Gil Vicente onwards, and identify the important contributions made by Juan de la Cueva, the Valencian dramatists, Lope de Vega, Tirso and their contemporaries. Unlike other recurrent stage properties, such as (for example) the letter, the lifelike portrait as both fact and conceit inspired a wide spectrum of dramatic

invention, serving at times as a metaphor for the compelling illusion of drama itself. In this context, the stage figure of the painter acquired considerable significance: I trace the dramatic presentation of both the painter and the act of painting a portrait.

The period between 1590 and 1635 saw a reassessment of established approaches to painting theory, as well as a reconsideration of the prestige and status of the painter; the evidence also points to increased lay interest in portraiture and picture collecting. The healthy number of painting manuals which were published in that period brought the debate and the terminology into the public domain, where writers with their ear to the ground (like Lope) seized on what was topical, and fostered further interest in the issues at stake. The fact that conservatives protested indicates that there were challenges to accepted theories of what constituted a good painting; notions like accuracy, artistic licence and decorum were three things that were not necessarily easy to reconcile. Given that the espousal of the portrait metaphor in fiction and drama can scarcely have been unaffected by the ferment in the field of the pictorial arts, I explore the background against which everyday assumptions about painting must have been made. Fiction and the theatre showed people commissioning, collecting and evaluating images; the consensus of expectation was heavily weighted towards greater realism; with this in mind, I examine the important implications for the prevailing dramatic metaphor of the <u>retrato</u>.

Contents

Abbreviations.

Acad.	Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española 15 vols (1890-1913).
Acad.N.	Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española (nueva edición) 13 vols (1916-30).
Autoridades	Diccionario de Autoridades [1726-37]. Facsimile edition 3 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1984).
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.
Battaglia	Salvatore Battaglia, Grande dizionario della lingua italiana (Turin, 1961; with recent new editions).
BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies.
BHi	Bulletin Hispanique.
BL	British Library.
CC	Clásicos Castellanos.
Corominas	Joan Corominas y José A. Pascual, Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico 6 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1980)
Covarrubias	Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española [1611] (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979).
DRAE	Real Academia Española: Diccionario de la Lengua Española 2 vols, 20th edition, 1984.
Fuentes	F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español 5 vols (Madrid, 1923-1941).
FMLN	Forum for Modern Language Studies.
GCO	Guillén de Castro, Obras 3 vols, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1925-27).
HR	Hispanic Review.
La Barrera	Cayetano A. de la Barrera y Leirado, Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español desde sus orígenes hasta mediados del siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1860); facsimile edition (London: Tamesis, 1968).

Martín Alonso	Martín Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma: Diccionario histórico y moderno de la lengua española 3 vols (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958)
MB	S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega, versión española de María Rosa Cartes (Madrid: Gredos, 1968; first published in 1940, and revised by S. Griswold Morley in 1963).
MLN	Modern Language Notes.
MLR	Modern Language Review.
MPh	Modern Philology.
Newels	Margarete Newels, Los géneros drámaticos en las poéticas del Siglo de Oro, versión española de Amadeo Solé-Leris (London: Tamesis, 1974; first published in Wiesbaden, 1959).
NRFH	Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica.
PDV	Poetas dramáticos valencianos 2 vols, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1929).
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
PQ	Philological Quarterly.
RIE	Revista de Ideas Estéticas.
RF	Romanische Forschungen.
RFE	Revista de Filología Española.
RHi	Revue Hispanique.
RN	Romance Notes.
RR	Romanic Review.
SP	Studies in Philology.
Wilson/Moir	Edward M. Wilson and Duncan Moir, The Golden Age: Drama 1492-1700 (Part of A Literary History of Spain, ed. R.O. Jones, London and New York, 1971).

Some notes on presentation.

1. In the interests of clarity, I have modernized spelling and accentuation in all Spanish texts except where a difference of pronunciation is inherent in the original form. Consequently, while I have modernized assí and aora, I have retained ansí and agora. I have modernized x and ç to j and z (or c), respectively, even though (in the case of x) modern and Golden-Age pronunciation clearly did not tally completely. I have left untouched words of the following kind: perfeto, nasciones, escusar, augmento, intinción, embuelta, debujo, frei and theólogo. I have occasionally suggested punctuation, in square brackets, in order to clarify the meaning of a text. I have left English, French, Italian and Valencian texts in their original form.

2. In the titles of all books I have left the spelling in its original form, except when following a modern editor's version.

3. I have respected the capitalization of Golden-Age writers and printers, except in titles of books.

4. Since a significant portion of this thesis deals with terminology, I have generally underlined important terms like retrato and espejo when discussing them, while reserving quotation marks for phrases and sentences where the usage of these words is illustrated.

5. In dating the plays of Lope de Vega, I have followed the chronology presented by Morley and Bruerton (see my list of abbreviations for details of the edition used).

6. All references to Aristotle's Poetics and Horace's Art of Poetry in English translation are taken from Classical Literary Criticism trans. T.S. Dorsch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, first edition: 1965).

7. All italics are mine unless disowned.

Michael Hattaway and A.R. Braunmuller, writing on the subject of English Renaissance drama, make several important observations to guide the scholar.

Michael Hattaway states that 'unfortunately...to understand theatre fully we have to understand not only performance but what helps to generate performance, the dramatic text. Mirror metaphors and metaphors that derive from painting - dramatic «portraits», etc. - can, it turns out, often be mystificatory when we attempt to describe the workings of a text, made not of images but of words'. This is a valid point, but it overlooks the equally valid point that some plays and parts of plays are composed of scenes before they find expression in words. I argue in this thesis that accepted visual symbolism and set-piece portrait episodes had a direct bearing on the development of certain plays by a wide range of dramatists. While I do not deny the role of language, especially rhetoric, in the genesis of any play, I shall concentrate on specific pictorial metaphors and devices which, to my mind, lay at the heart of the comedia.

A.R. Braunmuller makes several points of similar import: 'Theatres, like universities, are among society's most conservative institutions. When they admit or achieve innovation it is often spasmodic rather than prolonged, intense rather than gradual, and the old long lingers beside the new [...] The ways of pleasing may be analysed and formulated, even if they never occurred to a single playwright as a recipe nor to a single playgoer as a requirement [...] To regard the dramatist's arts as those visible in the surviving manuscript or printed playtexts proves more expedient than defensible'. This thesis aims to reassess some of the innovation inherent in the comedia by examining the terminology used by its defenders and detractors; this terminology provides clues, but it does not crack any lost code of creative method or stance.

Braunmuller also warns that 'any single retrospective pattern is probably an historical fiction'. I hope that the wisdom contained in this advice will justify my preference for qualified conclusions over assertions of fact, and my frequent reference to what the evidence suggests. I have merely followed where that evidence has led, prepared to be surprised or contradicted at every turn.

(Quotations from The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Drama, ed. A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway, Cambridge, 1990, 53, 55, 58-59, 61 and 91).

Introduction.

In the Golden-Age <u>comedia</u> the portrait is a key component which has not yet received full-scale investigation. But for a handful of valuable articles, dealing with specific plays and focusing predominantly on Calderón, the extent to which pictures of all types feature in the action and the language of the <u>comedia</u> remains unjustly neglected.[1] In many plays the portrait episode is an incident, and no more, reflecting an everyday experience of images as love tokens or devotional objects. On the other hand, many dramatists show a fascination with the notion of the portrait which recurs like a leitmotif throughout the play, surfacing at one moment as a poetic <u>pintura</u>, at the next, as a metaphor in the lovers' jargon, echoing what has gone before, or prefiguring a 'pictorial' moment that comes afterwards. Mary Gaylord Randel has demonstrated how, in Lope's <u>Peribáñez</u>, 'the portrait plays a central role in both the structure of the work and the development of its themes'.[2] She goes on to conclude that 'references to these two portraits [of Casilda and San Roque's statue] give the plot a complex balance'(156). The notion of the portrait underpins the whole play, and in the hands of a genius like Lope, as Miss Randel's analysis shows, the results are extraordinary. Lesser dramatists also explored the portrait motif with similar insistence on a whole series of echoes and prefigurations, which reveal a kind of collective obsession with the theme of the painted image. A brief examination of a play written by Luis Vélez de Guevara,

Antonio Coello and Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla will illustrate both points at once, in that there is continuity of various portrait themes despite the multiple authorship.

<u>También la afrenta es veneno</u> is pretty standard stuff, although the hero's death when 'poisoned' by sheer exasperation at the dishonour done him by his king is an uncommon dénouement.[3] Despite the variations of technique in each of the three <u>jornadas</u> - most noticeable in Rojas' penchant for the supernatural - Coello and then Rojas appear to sense, and go on to develop, the pictorial motifs initiated by Vélez in the first act. Here, there are four distinct, and yet inter-related themes: the king's love as idolatry ('Idolatro un áspid': 585a), the king setting out to be an image (<u>retrato</u> and <u>traslado</u>) of his father (Pedro el Cruel), the king's power to sculpt his subjects, and the portrait of Leonor which the king, like the Comendador in Lope's play, has commissioned in order to feed his passion:

> <u>Rey</u> Sólo con engaños vivo;
> Todos buscan en pinturas,
> Engañando a los sentidos,
> Lejos para la esperanza,
> Sombras para los alivios.(590c)

At the end of the act the king sends Leonor's husband on a diplomatic mission, and gives him the portrait of his wife, only to rob him of the lady herself in his absence. In the second <u>jornada</u>, Coello alludes to three (and, possibly, all four) of the portrait themes; the king is now in possession of Leonor:

Rey Ya aquestas idolatrías
De mi amor tienen por premio
Interesado su vista.(592a)

The king then claims (in his case, quite wrongfully) to be acting in God's image:

Mas como son atributos
En el rey, como es imagen
De Dios, no tienen peligro
las virtudes de estragarse.(592b)

Leonor is then 'discovered': 'se descubre sentada en un sitial'(593b), and the nobles are invited and then persuaded to pay homage to her, as she sits in silence and (presumably) motionless for ninety lines of speech, suggesting comparison, especially by virtue of being seated, with the waist-upwards picture of the first act.[4]

The theme of idolatry is then linked with a reiteration of the sculpture motif, as the king explains how Leonor's former husband should now view her:

Y así, borrad advertido
Cuanta memoria profana
Dijere que hoy es humana
En fe de que ayer lo ha sido.
Tiene un escultor labrada
La imagen, y antes de estar
Colocada en el altar,
La toca con mano osada,
Mas si ya está colocada
Fuera error profano y feo.[5]

At the outset of the third act, we see the guilt-ridden king plagued by visions of the offended husband, as he later explains:

Que esta noche os vi en mi idea,
Muerta imagen de la vida,
Vivo cuerpo en sombra muerta.(598)

The 'image' of Leonor, which so obsessed him earlier in the play, has been replaced by the 'image' of her offended

husband. Rojas goes on to echo two more earlier themes when he has the king's tutor reflect on how far his disciple has failed to be his 'copia fiel' while being only too like his cruel father; later, Leonor says in an aside, '¡Viva estatua soy de hielo!'(601b), alluding to the sculpture theme of the first two acts.

Clearly, the overall effect is inferior to the achievements of Lope, Tirso and Calderón in this context, but many of the stock variations on the theme are there, which are shuffled and reordered in endless permutations in hundreds of comedias: idol, sculpture, statue, portrait, copy, vision, illusion and truthful reflection. One of the major aims of this thesis will be to study the portrait device in around one hundred and eighty plays, in order to demonstrate the extent of conventional usage, and, more importantly, the variety and degree of innovation which successive dramatists brought to the device. I shall also consider the types of portraits (lienzo, tabla, naipe, jovel, patena) used in the theatre, together with the symbolic tableaux (pintura, apariencia), and the convincing artwork of the Devil ('tan retratada al vivo') and the Good Lord ('el divino Apeles') which feature so strongly in the comedia.[6] I also examine the serious and comic presentation of the painter on the Spanish stage, and explore the background to the notion of shared objectives and terminology in poetry, drama and painting.

My second principal concern will be the vital role played by the notion of the portrait in the search for a new critical terminology to explain and define the techniques and

objectives of what Covarrubias (and others) called the *comedia nueva*. In the standard dictionary of the period (*Tesoro*, 1611) Covarrubias bears witness to the transformation of the theatre *and* to the change of terminology which was quite clearly taking place at the same time; his definition of *comedia* has apparently gone largely unnoticed, and is not mentioned in the studies by Newels and by Moir and Wilson:

> Es cierta especie de fábula, en la cual se nos representa como en espejo, el trato y vida de la gente ciudadana y popular; así como en la tragedia las costumbres y manera de vivir de los príncipes y grandes señores. [He then mentions their standard happy and sad endings, and deals with etymology]. Y en lugar desta comedia vieja sucedió la nueva; que con fingidos argumentos y marañas nos *dibujan* el trato y condiciones de los hombres viejos, mozos, de todos estados, mujeres honradas y matronas, viejas cautelosas, mozas, unas que engañan y otras que son engañadas. En fin *un retrato de todo lo que pasa en el mundo*.

His choice of the traditional mirror metaphor for old-style comedy and the portrait metaphor for the new-style *comedia* (reinforced by the notion of the sketch) is not just a varying of terminology but something much more significant. Covarrubias has picked up from a written or oral source (or sources) the jargon which had become topical and which most usefully expressed the aims and methods of the dramatists. The portrait, and not the mirror, showed you the whole range of what happened in the world, involving characters from every social class: 'de todos estados'; as I show below, this linking of *retrato* and the *comedia* dominated the thinking and printed statements of those who explained and defended a type of theatre which was now free from traditional limitations and time-worn terminology. In their definitions of the new drama form, Turia, Barreda and Tirso established the *retrato* as the

most appropriate critical analogue, and turned away from the the speculum vitae formula of Cicero. In the first two chapters, I examine the context and progress of this development, which took place at a moment when many artistic and literary stances (together with the terminology used to express them) were being reassessed and adapted to fit the needs of the moment.

Introduction - Notes.

(1) See, for example, the following articles: Myron A. Peyton, 'The retrato as Motif and Device in Lope de Vega', RN IV (1962), 51-57; George Erdman, 'An Additional Note on the retrato Motif in Lope', RN V (1964), 183-86; A.K.G. Paterson, 'The Comic and Tragic Melancholy of Juan Roca: A Study of Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra', FMLS V (1969), 244-61, and 'Juan Roca's Northern Ancestry: A Study of Art Theory in Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra', FMLS VII (1971), 195-210; Susan L. Fischer, 'Art-within-Art: The Significance of the Hercules Painting in El pintor de su deshonra', in Critical Perspectives on Calderón de la Barca ed. F.A. de Armas, D.M. Gitlitz and J.A. Madrigal, Society of Spanish and Spanish American Studies (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1981), 69-79; Simon A. Vosters, 'El intercambio entre teatro y pintura en el Siglo de Oro español', in Las constantes estéticas de la 'comedia' en el Siglo de Oro: Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam no. 2 (Amsterdam, 1981), 15-37. Vosters explores the degree to which some plays influenced subsequent paintings of the same theme (29-31), while the development of perspective scenery, together with the political implications of the fact that the monarch had the best viewpoint, have been discussed by, for example, Aurora Egido in the introduction to her edition of Calderón's La fiera, el rayo y la piedra (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), 22-24. Two recent studies of the painting theme, while concentrating on individual plays, include some valuable lines of thought: Marcia L. Welles, '«The Rape of Deianeira» in Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra', in The Perception of Women in Spanish Theater of the Golden Age ed. Anita K. Stoll and Dawn L. Smith (Lewisburg, London and Toronto: Bucknell University Press, 1991), 184-201; Roberto González Echevarría, 'Poetry and Painting in Lope's El castigo sin venganza', in Celestina's Brood: Continuities of the Baroque in Spanish and Latin American Literature (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 66-80.

(2) 'The Portrait and the Creation of Peribáñez', RF LXXXIV (1973), 145-58, especially 156. For further comments on 'the psychological acuity with which Peribáñez is testing his wife's fidelity' as he mentions paintings three times in one speech (between lines 2057 and 2066), see the introduction by J.M. Ruano and J.E. Varey to their edition of the play (London: Tamesis Texts, 1980), 25. All further references to this play are to this edition.

(3) All references are to the edition in BAE LIV: Comedias de Francisco Rojas Zorrilla, ed. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (Madrid, 1861), 585-602.

(4) The portrait of Leonor is described as 'de medio cuerpo arriba'(589).

(5) The king continues: 'Escultor fuisteis grosero,/ mas ya colocada está,/ ved que es sacrilegio ya/ tratarla como primero'(595). Also linked with the sculpture theme is the following passage: 'Barreto. Que aquí [en Palacio] suele anochecer/ uno cerezo, y salir/ San Roque por la mañana,/ porque es mano soberana/ la de un rey para esculpir,/ como Dios, hombres de nada'(589). This is an interesting reference to San Roque, bearing in mind that the saint's statue and a portrait of a married woman (also painted without her consent) are features shared with Lope's Peribáñez.

(6) The notion of the Devil as rival artist ('adversarius artifex') is forcefully stated by Tertullian around 200 AD: see Jonas Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice (Berkeley and London, 1981), 49-50. The Devil as painter is a recurrent theme of the Siglo de Oro: I quote from the Historia del Monserrate (pub. 1588) by Cristóbal de Virués, where the protagonist Garín is tempted as the Devil conjures an image of a dead woman (see BAE XVII: Poemas épicos, I, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Madrid, 1945, 544b). For references to God as 'el soberano Apeles', see below, pp. 230 and 417.

Chapter 1: Developments in taste and terminology in literature and painting, c.1550 - c.1635.

The notion of new art (and new critical terms) to match the changing times surfaces regularly around 1600, and appears to have been widely held. Comparisons between the sister arts of poetry and painting were frequently (and, sometimes, thoughtfully) made, and the perennial debate concerning appropriate modes of representation in art and literature was highly topical around 1600.[1] Particular words which were related to both painting and poetry either shifted in meaning, or retained ambiguous connotations which were heightened by discussions of creative techniques.

The verb mentir, in connection with lifelike portrayal, illustrates this process perfectly; in his Tesoro, Covarrubias offers a succinct traditional definition: 'es no decir verdad maliciosamente', while Pérez de Moya draws the standard analogy between the devil and untruth:

> Y fue cosa justa, que donde hablaba el criador del mundo, callase el demonio, autor de mentiras.[2]

Similarly, in recounting a story of the Devil adopting 'aparentes hermosuras', José de Valdivielso employs the verb mentir to convey the idea of evil deceit:

> [We are told of the Devil] transformándose a permisiones divinas en una de las más bien quistas hermosuras del lugar, mintiendo belleza, gala, bizarría, con mucho de lo que llaman garabato.[3]

There are signs, however, that both in literary and artistic theory, the term mentira was undergoing an important

revaluation. López Pinciano deals at length with the matter of 'artes mentirosas':

> Si por decir mentiras es vil una arte, no sé yo cuál es más en el mundo que la Poética, que toda ella es mentira y fullería [..] y no vale decir: es mentirosa facultad [la Poética], porque, en la verdad, adelante se verá cómo hay mentiras oficiosas y virtuosas[..] Hay muchas cosas en la Poética, y palabras también, que parecen mentirosas y no lo son, porque las cosas en lo literal falsas, muchas veces se miran verdaderas en la alegoría.

The same writer goes on to promise discussion of 'las mentiras útiles al mundo, y, en cierta manera necesarias por ser suadidoras de la virtud.'[4] Juan Díaz Rengifo, however, writing at around the same time, advocates that poetry should feign but not lie:

> La materia del arte Poética son todas las cosas, que tienen ser, y las que no le tienen, sino es el que del mesmo Poeta reciben. Al cual pertenece no sólo el hablar de cosas verdaderas, pero mucho más el fingir, y aun esto en tanto grado, que dice Aristóteles, que solos los que fingen son propiamente Poetas. Y no quiso decir que los Poetas habían de mentir, sino que habían de describir y pintar tan al vivo las cosas, que diesen como vida a lo que estaba muerto.[5]

The differing usages of the verb <u>mentir</u> by El Pinciano and Rengifo, writing about the same topic, reveal a piece of fashionable literary jargon in a state of flux.[6] The verb was, after all, sanctioned by Horace, who had been recently translated by Vicente Espinel (1591):

> Finge cosas, que entre sí convengan; y con tanta cordura finge y miente, y va mezclando verdadero y falso [Horace: ita mentitur, sic veris falso remiscet].[7]

In contemporary artistic terminology, too, it appears that the stigma could be detached from the verb <u>mentir</u>, as when Lope reflects on the 'sweet lie' of painting:

> A ti [Pintura soberana] que en perspectiva
> acercas lo más lejos
> entre confusas nieblas y reflejos,
> <u>dulce</u> <u>mentira</u> <u>viva</u>,
> engaño que deleita de tal suerte,
> que por menos hermoso
> deja lo natural quien llega a verte.[8]

The notion of <u>mentira</u> has, as it were, been rehabilitated and now takes its place as a useful but still novel (and even startling) variant of <u>engaño</u> and <u>burla</u> in the fashionable repertoire for iconic verse and ecphrasis.[9] Valdivielso writes of painting as '[el] noble persuadir de sus colores' [and] '[el] elocuente engaño de la naturaleza', before including, in a list of anecdotes derived from Pliny, the following example:

> y el relincho lascivo
> del caballo feroz, a la <u>mentida</u>
> yegua, sin vida persuadiendo vida.[10]

But the status of <u>mentir</u> as an acceptable synonym for 'pintar al vivo' is most clearly illustrated in a comparison drawn by Juan de Butrón between painting and rhetoric:

> La Pintura imita a la Retórica gallardamente con la paridad que se sigue. El pincel valiente del Artífice perito <u>miente</u> demanera a la experiencia, que lo que nos parece hombre, llegado a palpar es dura tabla.[11]

Another good example occurs in Quevedo's poem 'El pincel' where Titian's canvasses are said to 'mentir almas'.[12] There is just a hint that this specifically pictorial adoption of the verb <u>mentir</u> may have originated in Italy, since Suárez de Figueroa (writing some ten years before Butrón) translates the term from Tomaso Garzoni's chapter on painting in his <u>Piazza universale</u> (1589).[13] The two versions are worth comparing, in view of what might be a telling omission by Suárez de Figueroa, which I shall underline in the Italian:

> [Painting can show] le passioni dell'huomo, i sensi dell'animo. & quasi isprime la voce istessa, & con mentite misure fa veder le cose, che non sono, come quelle che sono, & quelle, che così non sono, in altro modo le fa parere. (fol. 291[r])

> La pintura [..] pinta las pasiones del hombre, los sentidos del ánimo, y casi la misma voz, haciendo con mentirosas medidas ver así las cosas que no son, como las que son.(fol. 304[r-v])

Now this is not the only omission: another example shows Suárez abbreviating Garzoni's references to pictorial impropriety.[14] Perhaps the notion that painting could produce a compelling distortion (as well as representation) of reality was just a little too dubious for the reading public that Suárez envisaged: this was, after all, exactly what the Devil set out to do.[15]

The terms color and afeite, together with contrahacer, were also partly reclaimed from their pejorative confines and employed to articulate new aesthetic ideas. Traditionally these words were used to express disapproval of deceit. Covarrubias has much to say against afeite, including the warning that 'es una mentira muy conocida y una hipocresía mal disimulada', and, to explain a possible Portuguese derivation, that 'no es natural sino hecho y contrahecho, o de ficto por ser color fingido.'[16] The metaphorical use of the term, not actually recorded in the Tesoro, was also popular and persistent, as when Carlos García (1619) refers to 'afeitada afición' or when Juan de Zabaleta (1654) condemns flattery:

> El que al Rey humano le transfigura los vicios, el que los afeita con el color de las virtudes, ése es el adulador, ése es el que enamora al Rey de sus defectos.[17]

As a term of literary criticism, afeite denoted an emptily ornamental style, as opposed to 'estilo pulido', as in this

example from Juan de Jaureguí:

> Así que no pretendan estimación alguna los escritos afeitados, con resplandor de palabras, si en el sentido juntamente no descubren mucha alma y espíritu, mucha corpulencia y nervio.[18]

Similarly, in 1626, Valdivielso praises Juan de Butrón for his 'desafeitadas elocuencias', and, in 1629, Francisco Aguado writes against 'estilo afeitado [y] culto'.[19]

Set against this welter of pejorative connotations, there are a few instances of the term afeite in positive contexts. As early as 1544, Francisco de Monzón recalls Socrates' advice to his disciples with 'rostros feos': 'que procurasen con cuidado encubrir las faltas de naturaleza con el afeite y compostura de sus virtuosas costumbres.'[20] Here afeite denotes commendable modification rather than culpable deceit - a notion which informs the term verdad afeitada, coined by Lope in 1632 to explain his methods in La Dorotea. The book, he says, is a 'tan cierta imitación de la verdad' - an achievement further enhanced by his use of prose. Immediately the notion of variedad is invoked to explain the inclusion of verse; this will make it 'hermosa', and the presentation of characters will be 'vivo'. After explaining that he has followed truth here, and not 'las impertinentes leyes de la fábula', Lope equates the perfect imitation with a more striking variation of what he called elsewhere 'verdad adornada':

> Al que le pareciere que me engaño, tome la pluma: y lo que había de gastar en reprender, ocupe en enseñar que sabe hacer otra imitación más perfecta, otra verdad afeitada de más donaires y colores retóricos.[21]

There is a precedent, though not an analytical one, for this startling combination of antithetical terms, in a mischievous (and mostly ironical) sonnet by one of the Argensolas, where cosmetic beauty is esteemed above the purely natural, and where mentira and engaño are favourably set against what is verdadero.[22] In similar vein, Antonio de Solís commends Jacinto Polo de Medina for outdoing the natural with the artificial in his Academias del jardín (published in 1630).[23] This shifting of the balance between the natural and the artificial, indicated by the semantic developments examined already, was evidently all the rage, and should be seen against the transitions in literary theory described so concisely by José Manuel Blecua:

> También, y es lógico, se da un cambio profundo en la estética. Mientras los renacentistas exaltan la Naturaleza y postulan su imitación, los hombres del Barroco ensalzan las cualidades del artificio, pasando de la imitatio a la inventio [...] Muchas veces se trata de presentar «lo natural, lo vario, lo injertado, lo fiero, incluso lo fiero y monstruoso; lo contrario a lo armónico, equilibrado e igual».[24]

The word contrahacer was traditionally paired with color and mentira in pejorative contexts, as in this example from 1572:

> Y enemigos hay que nos engañan disfrazados con sus hábitos[...] Contrahacen las colores tan al natural, que fácilmente se engañan nuestros ojos.[25]

Yet, strangely, Covarrubias and Autoridades do not accompany their definitions of the term with blame, despite the fact that the later dictionary offers an example from Santa Teresa, in which the devil tries to counterfeit God's image:

> [Covarrubias] Imitar alguna cosa de lo natural o artificial. Contrahecho, lo imitado en esta manera.
> [Autoridades] Hacer una cosa tan semejante a otra, que dificultosamente se pueda distinguir la verdadera de la falsa.

The word, in its English equivalent of 'counterfeit', was synonymous with 'portrait' in the Elizabethan era, and there are a few scattered examples of the use of contrahacer in artistic and dramatic contexts which presuppose a revaluation of its traditional connotations.[26] As early as the late fifteenth century, the word contrahacer is used by Antonio de Nebrija in a positive context: as E.J. Webber points out, Nebrija 'characteristically also indoctrinated his students with the following truism from among the model sentences of his text book: «Terencio es tan enseñado que él sabe contrahacer los gestos de los hombres»'; Nebrija is paraphrasing the Latin sentence 'Terentius est ita perdoctus, ut omnium vultus noverit exprimere'. Given the key status of Terence's plays as a Renaissance vademecum, the dissemination of this usage of contrahacer was probably extensive.[27] Writing between 1600 and 1605, José de Sigüenza tells how the painter Navarrete el Mudo spent his time as a child 'contrahaciendo y burrajando [ie. borrajeando: «doodling»] lo que vía [con carbones y piedras]', while Rey de Artieda, defending the actor's art, uses the term as a synonym for representar:

> Y cuando bien se apure y adelgace
> el Comediante cuando representa,
> ¿es Pablos, cuando a Pablos contrahace?[28]

By far the most common of these ambiguous terms which were appearing in the critical jargon of the late sixteenth century was color and its concomitant verb, adjective, and set phrase so color de; already in Latin the word color had pejorative connotations, when, for Juvenal and Quintilian, it meant 'an artful excuse or colouring of a questionable action'.[29]

Covarrubias hints at both neutral and negative connotations:

> Color significa alguna vez razón o causa, que en latín vale species, ejemplo: So color de santidad engañan los hipócritas. Título colorado, el que parece fundarse en alguna apariencia de razón y justicia.

In Autoridades, however, the negative connotations of color are more explicitly stated:

> Vale también pretexto, motivo, y razón aparente para emprender, y ejecutar alguna cosa, encubierta y disimuladamente.

Several authorities are quoted who lead one to conclude that color needed to be qualified by honesto when 'a good excuse' was implied. Colorado is applied, in the example given of its usage, to the tricks employed by the Devil to tempt mankind into sin. Several more examples will illustrate the weight of pejorative associations:

> Es el demonio un pintor malísimo, y colorea su pregunta con la primera mentira que se dijo en el mundo (Diego de Yepes).
>
> Que sanguijuelas hay también que chupan dulcemente [...], colorando con endiosadas palabras sus ambiciosos intentos (Carlos García).
>
> Esta fábula significa, que la mentira compuesta de colores luego es vencida de la verdad, donde hay cierta probanza (Aesop, trans. 1550?)[30]

Just as color could mean 'culpable deceit', it could also, more rarely, imply a notion of acceptable feasibility, as in this example from 1579:

> Tantas cosas he oído, que por mí creo que no habrá quien lo entienda que no se reduzga a su obligación con los pobres, los ricos de hacienda principalmente, los ministros de inteligencia, los otros de cuidado y trabajo: sin que haya poner excusas tan sin color, como es decir los ricos que no tienen cargo que les obligue a ello, los que tienen cargo que no son ricos, y los otros que no tienen tiempo.[31]

For this writer, an 'excusa con color' might exempt an individual from his responsibilities. Similarly, in this

example from Jaureguí, the malice would be real or justified if it had color, but is false without it:

> Tendría color esa malicia si a mi autor le vieran ocioso a las puertas sólo del tiempo; pero veisle aquí en lo interior, junto a la custodia, pronunciando sagrados concetos.[32]

It is this equation of color and the semblance of truth which will become vital in critical terminology around 1600 when phrases like 'pintar de sus colores' and 'color perfecto' assume considerable importance in literary theory. The 'colours' of rhetoric were also viewed with as much suspicion as enthusiasm, since, as Antonio López de Vega (writing around 1628) says, 'coloración meramente poética' is an abuse of literary licence.[33] Lorenzo Vander Hamen y León (1629) complains in similar terms about the coining of new words:

> Esto nace de parescerles a algunos ignorantes deste tiempo, que es humilde el lenguaje Castellano, sino le ponen estos afeites de voces nuevas y le pintan con este colorido.[34]

But as early as 1561, Luis Milán links the rhetorical colours with the notion of investing one's arguments with authority:

> La cuarta que ha de tener [el libro], es Arte, servando las partes de la Retórica; tratar cada cosa en su lugar, principio, medio y fin, con sus preparaciones y colores Retóricos para autorizar lo que propone y acaba.[35]

By 1592, Rengifo (in his Arte poética) sees a crucial role for rhetorical colours in a self-confessedly 'scientific' approach to 'el artificio poético':

> Y aun misma la Poesía puede recebir en sí todo el ornato, y artificio de que usa el Retórico, y aprovecharse de los colores ajenos, para más hermosearse, y mejor conseguir su fin.(6)

This regeneration of hitherto dubious words as terms of literary criticism was accompanied by other, related

developments, such as the popularizing of the verb limar (discussed below, p. 206), the gradual replacement of the traditional word for acting - recitar - with the 'visual' term representar, often reinforced with al vivo, and the emergence of the dramatic device of engañar con la verdad, with all its serious underlying implications (burlas veras), in that one could be as easily deceived by the truth as by a lie. A full study of all these trends lies beyond the scope of this thesis, which will concentrate on terminology employed to express ideas related to the experience, or the notion, of painting and drama.

At this stage, a nearly insoluble problem arises, which Lucy Gent has expressed in a study related to my own:

> It is a tricky point to establish, because no one can finally determine whether what writers [she is referring to Elizabethan poets] say about pictures is influenced by the pictures they actually saw, or by the patterns, options and vocabulary offered them by their language.[36]

For a Spanish public the range of language available could be (and was) enhanced by consulting Italian and native Spanish painting manuals, an option which Miss Gent omits from her list, since (as she explains) 'access to [Italian] contemporary art-criticism was not available to English writers'(36). Since so many writers alluded to painting in critical prologues and declarations of literary intentions, then I, like Lucy Gent, must inevitably try to 'elicit the basic ideas about painting in men's minds', the 'common assumptions and expectations'(19), the progressive and conservative standpoints, which quite clearly overlapped with contemporary literary trends. This is a daunting task, and

the brief survey that follows is necessarily tentative, centering predominantly on contemporary descriptions of paintings and the more accessible sources of information and jargon which could equip an educated person to talk about art, and to draw what were considered valuable (and highly topical) comparisons between painting and the new theatre in the period from about 1600 to 1625. After all, when Francisco Barreda states, in 1622, that 'para ser perfecta una pintura, bástale ser fiel', and goes on to apply that argument to the 'comedia nueva', what he says about painting is designed to clarify his presentation of the aims of drama, and not vice versa.[37] The most likely inference is, therefore, that since most readers would accept and understand his definition of the perfect (and/or finished) painting, they could use that analogy to reach a fuller acceptance and appreciation of the new mode of drama, since, if the statement about painting were itself either controversial or susceptible to excessive qualification, its value as a means of explaining something that <u>was</u> still a contentious issue would be seriously weakened. Some kind of general consensus about painting must therefore be construed for that crucial period of transition, even though there are strong indications that, in fact, art theory itself was in a state of flux, with a slight shift in the balance towards realistic and away from idealistic (or symbolic) representation.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall examine some of the terminology used to evaluate painting and literature, moving from shared cliché to discuss the possible cross-fertilization

of jargon. I shall then examine briefly some evidence of new developments taking place in art and art theory in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. My aim will be to suggest some reasons why the notions of painting and portraiture were so unanimously adopted and developed by apologists for the comedia nueva. Vital clues, which should not be overlooked because they are so frequent, are contained in the clichés of ecphrasis which recur (to borrow M. H. Abrams' memorable phrase) 'with a unanimity which makes indifference to boredom the sine qua non of research.'[38] In the extensive iconic poetry of the period, the standard formulae and conventional epithets and anecdotes are useful indicators of widely-known (or accepted) attitudes.

Reactions to art and, at a more sophisticated level, assessments of art, were expressed in a variety of ways. Useful sources include the descriptions (mostly in prose) of paintings and sculpture gathered by Sánchez Cantón (Fuentes, V), the descriptions by Argote de Molina of the El Pardo palace and by Sigüenza of the Escorial, the short discourse on painting and sculpture by Pablo de Céspedes (1604), and the brief section on painting in Suárez de Figueroa's Plaza universal (1615), where, as I have said, a substantial amount is translated from Garzoni's Italian original of 1595.[39] While the material provided by Sánchez Cantón gives a good idea of what people tended to say about art, the section from the Garzoni/Suárez de Figueroa encyclopaedia is the kind of place where an educated reader could glean greater insight into painting and the jargon to express a more informed opinion.

The views of Sigüenza, printed in 1605, and of Céspedes, unpublished until 1800, represent a more sophisticated level of connoisseurship. I do not intend to labour the point, but in order to get some idea of what people looked for in a good painting, one has to start with basics. While a good picture astonished the viewer, a bad one provoked laughter: there was a recurrent joke, which surfaced periodically in fiction (eg. Don Quijote, 2ª parte, cap. 3) and in drama (eg. anon. La cruz en la sepultura: see below, pp. 409-10), concerning the dreadful painter who had to write underneath the image what exactly it was he had painted; Cervantes may well be quoting a long-established verbal joke when his licenciado Vidriera maintains that 'los buenos pintores imitaban a naturaleza; pero que los malos la vomitaban'.[40] The 'monster' portrait, whether executed in paint or words, was a related source of amusement since the image could be deliberately so bad that even the sitter would not detect any resemblance. For example, a jocular poetic retrato by Antonio de Solís ends with the following lines:

> Este, Flora, es el Retrato
> de tus faltas, o tus sobras:
> yo pienso, que te verás
> tal, que aun tú no te conozcas.[41]

Astonishment at good art was expressed in a variety of ways; in the following examples the dates in brackets indicate that the word or phrase existed by that date, not that it was coined then: 'admirable pintura'(1582) and 'me pone admiración'(1604). The life-like quality which caused this wonder was described in a series of ways from stock phrase to stock conceit: 'engañar la vista'(1555), 'ser muy al

vivo'(1572), 'seméjale mucho'(1573), 'parecer vivo'(1596), 'parece que habla(n)'(1590s), 'tan propio que parece verdadero'(1604), 'que el vivo no es así más semejante'(1604), and 'tan al vivo, que lo natural parece en su presencia pintado'(1604).[42] Terms related to the word 'vivo' like 'viveza' and vivacidad' (the latter derived from Italian) indicate a refinement of jargon, and increased sophistication: Ambrosio de Morales talks of painted figures which have 'toda la perfección y viveza que un gran pintor les pudiera dar con el pincel'(1572), while Mosquera de Figueroa describes a portrait he saw as having 'particular propriedad y viveza'(1596); 'vivacidad' is a term used before 1581, and employed by Pablo de Céspedes (1604) in relation to the art of Michelangelo.[43] By 1633, 'viveza' has acquired an adjective, as when Vicente Carducho criticizes some inadequate contemporary images which 'carecen desta prompta viveza, y afectuosa propriedad exterior, para ser en todo perfectas'(Diálogos, fol. 56ᵛ), while in a well-known and tendentious passage in praise of the comedia, he commends Lope de Vega's pictorial skill:

> Me hallé en un Teatro, donde se descogió una pintura suya, que representaba una tragedia, tan bien pintada, con tanta fuerza de sentimiento, con tal disposición y dibujo, colorido y viveza.(fol. 61ᵛ)

I shall discuss the relationship between 'viveza' and other terms like 'afecto' and 'fuerza' later on in this chapter.

There were good reasons to be informed about art, although as Juan Calvete de Estrella (writing in 1552) says of architecture, there were limits to how much of the technical jargon ('los peregrinos vocablos') an educated layman could be

expected to cope with.[44] Castiglione had set an important precedent when considering painting a worthy pursuit for a gentleman, if only to enable him to (in Boscán's 1534 translation) 'saber alcanzar el primor de las estatuas modernas y antiguas'; Francisco Pacheco later quotes Castiglione's recommendation: 'quiere que su Cortesano sepa dibujar y tenga noticia muy grande del arte de la Pintura'.[45] Suárez de Figueroa lists the standard arguments in favour of at least an interest in art; besides giving delight, it improves the understanding 'con la sutileza de las cosas pintadas', it can inspire the viewer to great deeds and is popular with the people who matter, like kings; in short, 'no hay provecho que no traiga a los que se aficionen della'(Plaza universal, fol. 303^{v}). The need for knowledgeable patrons of art is a recurrent theme in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in 1534 Juan Vives shows Albrecht Dürer giving some nit-picking browsers short-shrift with the words (translated from the Latin) 'los compradores sabios, y que entienden la pintura, no compran versos, sino la habilidad'.[46] Felipe de Guevara (writing around 1560) sees a direct link between an uninformed clientele and poor-quality art:

> Por manera que nuestros malos juicios y conocimiento causa y acarrea descuido el día de hoy en los Artífices, si no me engaño. Se topan cada hora mil hombres los más contentos del mundo en haber dejado su dinero por unas muy ruines pinturas con tanto gusto, que antes sufrirán que digáis mal de sus personas propias, que sus pinturas.[47]

In 1583, Juan Pérez de Moya says of Isabel Coello that 'retrata con grande admiración de los que desta arte mucho entienden', implying that her work is so good that it

impresses even the experts while simultaneously (perhaps, alternatively) confirming the status of the art connoisseur and hinting at the desirability of more knowledge on the subject.[48] In 1598, Francisco Jerónimo Collado discusses the sculpture of Montañés, which reached a level of perfection appreciated not only by fellow artists, but also by 'otras personas inteligentes que aunque no las profesan tienen buen gusto y voto, y con razón.'[49] Italian art theorists of the sixteenth century had habitually commended their ideas to those with the desire and the capacity to assimilate them - the 'intendenti', as opposed to the ignorant crowd. In Spain, once the struggle in print (initiated by Gutiérrez de los Ríos in 1600) gets underway to establish the liberal status of painting, the elitist connoisseur is more clearly defined in his awareness of qualities in art which are a mystery to most. In 1626, after issuing the warning that 'que no ignore los desvelos que costó la Pintura, quien se atreve a dar censura', Juan de Butrón later illustrates the different levels of art appreciation which relative ignorance and expertise can produce:

> De no conocer las partes que tiene (como dije en otra parte) nace la poca estimación que algunos hacen de la Pintura; pues en ella no sólo deleita a unos lo hermoso, lo apacible, lo alegre, sino a otros a veces lo valiente en lo horrible, en lo áspero, e inculto, en lo escondido, y asombrado [...] No se estiman las Pinturas entre los que las entienden, por lo vivo, y alegre del colorido, ni por lo perfilado, y acabado de lo pintado; la valentía del dibujo sí, y la destreza del estudio: cosas todas que [...] es imposible que conozcan no siendo Pintores, pues es cierto, que los que no lo somos dejamos de ver infinitas cosas en la Prespetiva [sic], en la Simetría, y Anatomía, que los ojos doctos, como dijo Cicerón [...] conocen, y especulan.[50]

Several points should be made here. Firstly, Butrón is stressing the need for knowledge, hence his insistence on the adjective docto, and the verbs conocer and entender. Secondly, he indicates what the average spectator would be looking for in a painting: bright colours and a high degree of finish. The adjective 'perfilado' at that time referred to profile or outline and was simultaneously synonymous with 'acabado', as Covarrubias indicates:

> Perfilar, recoger la figura en su propia forma, y así llamamos perfil la línea que le da forma y la divide de campo o vacío. Perfilado, el muy pulido y afectado.

The DRAE confirms this apparently double meaning:

> Perfilar: Dar, presentar el perfil o sacar los perfiles a una cosa. (fig.) Afinar, hacer con primor, rematar esmeradamente una cosa.

It is not certain whether by perfilado Butrón means a polished image or one with a clear outline around it. Pablo de Céspedes (1604) explains 'la manera perfilada' as painting with strong outlines which, because it seems to deny three-dimensional depth, is a technique avoided by 'los buenos maestros'. For him the outline needs to be hidden rather than stated:

> Entiendo que es gran pimor, como de verdad lo es, y artificio grande las líneas que circunscriben una figura o miembro de ella, estar de tal manera disimuladas, que no se vean los perfiles ni término alguno, sino que parezca que va arredondeando.[51]

The statements made by Céspedes seem to indicate that, if we infer correctly from Butrón, average picture viewers liked clearly-defined images (outline, finish and colour) while the connoisseur looked beyond for qualities of style and probably of content which were related to the terribilidad of one of

Céspedes' heroes, Michelangelo. In this way 'lo inculto' and 'lo asombrado' are manifestations of the contemporary vogue for the extreme or even monstruous in art which José Manuel Blecua has described (see above, p. 22). A passage in Juan de Piña's Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada (1628) seems to reinforce this interpretation; amidst a relentless sequence of marvels, Piña has his hero Juan wonder at the paintings in a nobleman's gallery where 'se halló el arte triunfante de la naturaleza'. The whole range of painterly effects is on show:

> Aquella noche reposó y a la mañana, con la afición que don Juan tenía a los Apeles y milagrosos pintores; lo asombrado, lo de la gran manera, lo fuerte, lo dulce y lo apacible y los demás preceptos de la pintura, miraba que en una tabla excelente y nueva estaba la Fortuna.[52]

Through Piña's typically indigestible syntax one can glimpse a penchant for painting executed with panache and flourish developing amongst the more sophisticated clientele. But this was for the cognoscenti, while those without specialized knowledge continued to respond to what Sigüenza called 'labrar muy hermoso y acabado, para que se pudiese llegar a los ojos y gozar cuan de cerca quisiesen, propio gusto de los españoles en la pintura'.[53]

Pretty colours, outline and degree of finish are, and always have been, criteria that have to be reviewed and relegated before a fuller understanding of painting can be reached. Vicente Carducho considers the potential hazards of evaluating a picture on the basis of colouring alone; after finding that his 'master' agrees with the suggestion that a drawing by Michelangelo should be as highly prized as the finished paintings of others, the 'disciple' inquires about the

relative merits of colouring and drawing ('colorido' and 'dibujo'). The reply is that there is no painting ('pintura') without dibujo since colour without dibujo is just 'materia y accidentes':

> Confieso que el colorido es tan amable y apetecible, por lo que tiene de hermoso y alegre, que se lleva los sentidos, porque se contentan y agradan de lo visible y exterior, y corteza de la pintura.(Diálogos, fol. 77^{v})

For this reason painters did their first version in black and white in order to avoid 'el hechizo de los colores'(fol. 78^{r}). Later on, when the 'master' is asked whether 'un buen ingenio' can be a good judge of painting without being a painter himself, his reply is at first strongly negative and elitist: 'no por cierto, ni aun suficientemente'(fol. 104^{r}), although he does then go on to admit the possibility of some knowledge in people who have a leaning towards the arts (fol. 104^{v}). Towards the close of his manual Carducho has both 'master' and 'disciple' mention, in turn, arty soirées where topics related to painting were discussed with considerable pleasure (fol. 147^{v}) and in several places, the art collections of the nobility who (including Quevedo) show a keen interest in painting and who tend to paint too (fols 150^{v}, 151^{r} and 159^{r}): 'Apenas hay quien no ame y acredite este Arte [...] deseosos de saber y obrar'(fol. 159^{r}).

Jonathan Brown has made the point that under Philip IV, more so than under Philip III, picture-collecting was very fashionable, particularly in the 1630s.[54] The scale of interest and patronage outlined by Butrón and Carducho appears to have been more than wishful thinking, and is reflected in the fiction and drama of the period where picture collections

are proudly displayed and admired. At one point Carducho laments the contemporary tendency for everyone with sufficient funds to have his portrait painted, as a mark of (sometimes borrowed) status (fols 110ᵛ-111ᵛ). It seems a safe assumption to make that more Spaniards than ever before had direct experience of painting and a nodding acquaintance with the essential terminology, and that a kind of sliding scale of jargon was, or became, available to express increased refinement in taste. Lucy Gent has suggested that the Elizabethans, in common with any society (even including its 'art-conscious minority') clearly could not perceive qualities in art which they had no terminology to describe (Picture and Poetry, 14). From this it follows that the coining or borrowing of new terms (from Italy in the case of Spanish art) can either lead to greater insight or fill a void created by a new trend or style, enabling expression of newly-perceived qualities.

The considerable explosion in literary and artistic terminology which took place in Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reflects the fact that the much-publicized new art for new times needed, and was capable of sustaining, a new vocabulary that would enable the viewer to identify and explain those qualities in a painting which caused the life-like effect. New terms were also needed at the next stage up to define the particular features of an artist's style, his 'modo' or 'manera'; in drama and fiction a painter's technique or style is often praised as 'buen pincel' or criticized as 'tosco pincel', and moving upwards

from this elementary level, a whole series of terms are employed to evaluate the way the lifelike resemblance has been achieved by the painter. Carducho demonstrates the range of terminology, and (by implication) the range of painting styles:

> Pastoso, tierno, mórbido, fresco, vago, aballado, suave, ensolvido, unido, acabado, esfumado, laminado, trabajado, peleteado, seco, crudo, perfilado, duro, penado, cansado, bien colorido, mal colorido, desunido, deslavado, buena manera, mala manera de pintar, manera suelta, gallarda, retoques, toques, pinceladas, golpes de maestro.(fol. 134^{r})

Certain words made up the basic repertoire: valiente, valentía, primor, fiel, dulce, sutil, de buena/mala mano, aire, donaire, divino, soberano, labor, gracia, grandeza and propiedad. At a more sophisticated level were more specialized terms: pulideza (or polideza), limpieza, brío, delicado, ternura, lindeza, asiento de colores, ornato, hinchar (or henchir), galante and garbo. This list of terms is not exhaustive, and a full study of even those listed lies beyond the scope of this thesis. I shall concentrate on those which found their way into plays and into critical writing about drama. My starting point will be valentía and primor, which were widely used synonyms for expressing the notion of excellence in painting, and more common in that context than the word excelente. Covarrubias does not have valentía or valiente, although the two terms were certainly in use before he compiled his Tesoro (1611). Writing in 1582, Argote de Molina uses the term valiente twice to describe painters.[55] Not surprisingly, the term was well established in Italian art criticism, where for example it was used by Dolce (1557) and

Armenino (1587) to mean (in Mark Roskill's translation) 'talented', 'skilful' and 'capable' (valente) and 'prowess' (valentia).[56] In the Siglo de Oro valiente seems to have conveyed two different things according to the artistic credentials, so to speak, of the person using the term. The notion of valentía features strongly in the art criticism of Fray José de Sigüenza (published in 1605) where it describes stylistic qualities, and not merely excellence.[57] For him valentía can be set against cobardía in painting, specifically in the works of Miguel Barroso whose pictures lack vigour: 'les falta la fuerza' (117), a regrettable feature of Spanish painting, according to Sigüenza:

> Estas historias y todo este rincón es pintura de Miguel Barroso, español, que si fuera italiano le llamaran el nuevo Micahelo [sic] Angelo, y pegárasele tras esto alguna más valentía, que ha sido común vicio de los pintores de España afectar mucha dulzura en sus obras y aballarlas, como ellos dicen, y ponerlas como debajo de una niebla o de velo, cobardía, sin duda en el arte, no siéndolo en la nación.(117)

Elsewhere, with reference to Navarrete el Mudo, Sigüenza draws an equation between '[seguir] otra manera más fuerte y de más relieve' and '[el] camino de valientes'(121); artwork that is too finished cannot qualify for praise on these terms, as when Sigüenza expresses misgivings about a picture of San Jerónimo by Navarrete: 'y esta sola falta tiene: que en estar tan acabado, no parece de hombre valiente'(120). Shortly before this, however, Sigüenza is praising a picture (by the same painter) of Santiago as 'hermosísima pintura, más que valiente, tan acabada, que parece iluminación'(120). His comments on a painting by Lavinia Fontana reveal more about valentía in relation to popular taste in painting:

> Aquella historia de Nuestra Señora con el Niño dormido [...] pintura tan alegre y hermosa y de tan buen colorido y tan llena de dulzura, que nunca se harta de verla, y con haber en aquella pieza tantas y tan valientes pinturas, ésta sola se lleva los ojos y enamora, especialmente a la gente ordinaria. Las cosas de Lavinia se estiman en toda Italia, que aunque no tengan la valentía que las de esos grandes hombres, por ser de mujer, que sale del curso ordinario.(137)

From what Sigüenza says it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions: valentía seems to have conveyed the notion of a virtuoso performance, of art produced with power and in 'la gran manera', not undermined by too much attention to detail (compare the DRAE definition: 'Valentía. Gallardía, arrojo feliz en la manera de concebir o ejecutar una obra literaria o artística'). Furthermore, as Sigüenza (disapprovingly) points out, valentía was not necessarily compatible with decorum (decoro) when an artist felt that restrictions were cramping his style:

> Estos [cuadros de Navarrete] son, al parecer de todos, los que guardan mejor el decoro, sin que la excelencia del arte padezca, [...]; que en esto muchos que son tenidos por valientes, hay grande descuido, por el demasiado cuidado de mostrar el arte (122)... Los pintores de Italia, aun los más prudentes, no han tenido tanta atención al decoro como a mostrar la valentía de su dibujo.(134)

Some thirty years later Francisco Pacheco makes the same observation in relation to 'decoro':

> Esta parte en la pintura, como procede más del buen juicio del pintor que de los preceptos de su arte, es tan poco usada aun de los valientes pintores, que de ordinario quieren caminar libres en sus pensamientos. Y de aquí vemos en las obras de munchos [sic], más valentía que decoro. (Arte, I, 288)

As far as it is possible to outline the development in usage of a critical term (always a risky enterprise), valentía seems to have served a dual function: to describe specific and, at

the same time, vague evaluations of painting. A specialist like Pacheco uses it regularly in both senses. Its popularity among non-specialists as a term of approbation may well have undermined and even eclipsed its value as a specific reference to the 'gran manera', so that 'valiente pincel' came to mean no more than good-quality painting. Pacheco criticized El Greco for his constant retouching of paintings 'para dejar los colores distintos y desunidos y dar aquellos crueles borrones para afectar valentía', while in 1637 Gracián says of a painter (some have suggested Velázquez) that 'dio en pintar a lo valentón', which the painter and others are said to set against 'lo suave y pulido' and 'la delicadeza' (a style associated with Titian).[58] Beyond the specialized world of art criticism, however, the trend by the 1640s was for a much vaguer application of the term. In 1642, for example, Castillo Solórzano describes how one of several picture collections in La Garduña de Sevilla contains 'cuadros de pintura de valientes pinceles', while around 1685 Bances Candamo has a character in a play (Por su Rey y por su dama) refer to 'lo valiente del pincel' while discussing a portrait.[59] In the context of painting, little if any specific reference to the painter's style remains in the word. Conversely, in the context of literary criticism the term valentía seems to have been a late arrival, as when Francisco de Trillo y Figueroa examines the components of heroic verse in 1651:

> Los poemas no solamente son grandes y heroicos por la traza y contextura [...], sino principalmente por la grandeza del estilo, frases y modo de decir, firmeza y continuación de conceptos, valentía de voces,

> arrojamientos, pinturas y precipicios, [...], y particularmente aquel estilo que procede de un ardor inextinguible, cebado en la erudición de lugares exquisitos.[60]

Here the grouping with grandeza and ardor inextinguible invests valentía with connotations of 'la gran manera' which it clearly had for Sigüenza around 1605, and which are implicit in Juan de Piña's references to the 'valientes golpes' of painting (Casos, 46). The term does not seem to occur in dramatic criticism before 1635 when José Pellicer de Tovar, drawing a distinction between plot (enredo) and style (estilo), explains how to avoid the one detracting from the other:

> Procurando en las [comedias] de mucho enredo templar el estilo, porque mucho contexto y versos grandes no caben juntos en lo artificial, algunos sí en los episodios. Y al contrario cuando la Comedia no es de mucho caso, supla aquella falta de su pensado la valentía de lo escrito.[61]

Here, as in the case of Trillo y Figueroa, stylistic 'valentía' is lofty, heroic poetry - 'versos grandes'. Some fifty years later, when Bances Candamo uses the term to describe the dramatic expertise of Lope de Rueda, it has little (if any) of this specific meaning; in the first version of his Theatro de los theatros (1689-90), Bances reproduces a passage from Cervantes' prologue to his Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses (1615) and replaces excelencia with valentía; here is the original text:

> Que todas estas cuatro figuras [negra, rufián, bobo y vizcaíno] y otras muchas hacía el tal Lope con la mayor excelencia y propiedad que pudiera imaginarse.

Bances' version finishes with 'que estas cuatro figuras hacía con propiedad y valentía el tal Lope'.[62] Since Bances, like

Cervantes, is referring to entremeses any notion of gran manera is very unlikely in these comments. In conclusion, then, valentía seems to have be a term that came into Spanish from Italian in the context of painting and only subsequently into literary criticism; it seems also to have become a term that could convey a very vague meaning (synonymous with excellence) or a quite precise meaning (vigour or boldness of design and execution) depending on the context and on the artistic or literary credentials of the user.

Another very popular term was primor, with its adjective primoroso, which Covarrubias defines as 'la excelencia en el arte'. His definition of primo explains this a little more: 'Primo, lo que está hecho o labrado con arte y elegancia'. This particular term may have been incorporated, unusually, into Italian from Spanish; in Castiglione's Libro del Cortegiano (1528) the word forms part of a short list of acceptable borrowings from French and Spanish. In his translation, George Bull explains that primor meant 'excellence' or 'goodness', and that some of the words in Castiglione's list became fully accepted in Italian.[63] Battaglia registers primore as an archaic noun equivalent to the modern premura ('care, attention'), but not as its source. As far as Spanish is concerned, the word primor seems to have been little more than a synonym for excellence from at least the 1530s. Around 1528, Cristóbal de Villalón suggests that his book El scholástico contains 'algunas cosas que tienen en sí algún primor, con otras que por hacer cuerpo de libro no le tienen tal'.[64] In 1564 a sonnet preceding Gaspar Gil Polo's

Diana enamorada compliments the author on his skill as a writer with the words 'tuvo primor en verso y prosa', while an anonymous sixteenth-century auto sacramental promises that the allegorical figure of a shepherd called 'Entendimiento' will act ('recitar') 'con enjemplario primor'.[65] In the context of art criticism the term was very popular and remained so: I have already quoted Boscán's phrase for artistic discernment 'alcanzar el primor'('giudicar la eccelenzia' in the Italian original); he uses the term again when translating Castiglione's description of the pleasure derived from knowing 'en qué está puntualmente el primor de una buena pintura'(El cortesano, 1994, 199). For Francisco de Holanda's Spanish translator (1540s), 'los primores de la Pintura' is a favourite phrase (Sánchez Cantón, Fuentes, I, 92). Sixteenth-century descriptions of images include a good many references to works of art done 'con primor' and 'sin primor'(for example, Fuentes, V, 336, 359 and 386); Lope's Peribáñez disguises his interest in Casilda's portrait with two explanations, including 'me agrada, / o porque tiene primor,/ o porque soy labrador'(lines 1656-58); around 1605 Sigüenza, referring to Pellegrini, speaks of the 'mucho arte y grandes primores de su ingenio'(Fuentes, I, 384), and goes on to describe a painting by him that had 'gran majestad y primor'(385). Primor is a recurrent term in Butrón's treatise on painting (1626): at one point he draws a distinction between 'los primores' and 'la materia de que está obrado [el Arte]'(Discursos, fol. 62^{r}), while later on, paraphrasing a Latin source, he sees a close link between primor and lifelike

representation:

> El primor de la Pintura está en que la Pintura, o Retrato imite la fisonomía del original: porque si le falta esta parte, ni tiene imitación, ni elegancia.(fol. 106[r])

For Juan de Piña (1628) primor is tied up with 'feliz acción' in a painting, when he describes an impressive picture illustrating the rape of Lucretia:

> Si antes había afectado el pintor la mayor y más feliz acción, el mayor primor del arte, y fue que Tarquino estaba amenazante con la daga desnuda.(Casos, 49)

For Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, writing around 1640, primor is a standard of expertise and/or stylistic excellence which can be handed down from one generation to the next:

> Lo mismo sucede en los artífices. Si una vez entra el primor en un linaje, se continúa en los sucesores, amaestrados con lo que vieron obrar a sus padres y con lo que dejaron en sus diseños y memorias.[66]

As an indication of how popular and durable the two terms valiente and primor proved to be one need only glance at a late seventeenth-century description of paintings in the Escorial where, apart from occasional use of terms like dulcísima, magnífica, graciosa and soberano, the anonymous writer resorts exclusively to primor/primoroso (at least nine times) and valiente/valentía (at least three times).[67] Examples in the theatre, poetry and fiction of the period show that the average viewer of art had these terms in his/her repertoire. Castillo Solórzano, for example, uses primor as a synonym for excellence in a range of contexts, to describe beauty ('el primor de tu hermosura'), to refer to the skilful playing of a guitar (destreza and primor) and to refer to the beauty of effect in a tapestry:

> La historia que en ellos [ricos paños flamencos] estaba tejida con grande primor, como en los vivos colores de que estaban matizadas las figuras.[68]

As a critical term, primor quite clearly did not have the 'specialist' dimension that valentía had; for López Pinciano (1596) 'el primor mayor' was a favourite phrase that meant something like 'the most excellent feature', as in 'el primor mayor del poema era la fábula', while for José Pellicer de Tovar (1631) 'la valentía del arte' means much more than 'the excellence of art' in the following example, where the comparison with painting demonstrates the process whereby artistic jargon is transferred to literature (note again the implied pairing of valentía and golpes):

> El genio deste mozo [Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera] no fue igual para las musas severas como para las del donaire, bien que entre los números salados del gracejo descubría unos golpes de seso y de majestad, como diestro y liberal pintor, que entre lo colorido de los matices alegres (con ciertos lejos y sombras) sabe mostrar o la valentía del arte o la perfección de la idea (siendo tal vez el descuido indicio de mayor acierto que el cuidado.[69]

There were other terms available to express the notion of artistic excellence; among these divino and raro probably derived from Italian usage, singular and peregrino may have come from Italian, and soberano and extremado seem to have been home-grown adjectives.

If one moves from words used to designate standards to words used to describe artistic styles one finds a significant transferral of Italian terminology to form an extensive repertoire. Some terms, like esbelteza ('light grace') and presteza (related to the Italian prontezza, and implying rapid ease of execution) were employed only by specialists in the

field.[70] On the other hand, of the four terms which were, according to Mark Roskill, among the most used in sixteenth-century Italian art criticism (dolcezza, grazia, soavità and vaghezza ['gracefulness or loveliness']) the first two assumed considerable importance in Spanish painting theory around 1600.[71] Covarrubias implies that dulzura and chiaroscuro constituted two virtually opposed styles of painting; under dulçor, a synonym for dulzura, he refers specifically to painting: 'endulcir la pintura, darle suavidad, que no tenga las sombras crudias[sic]'. Sigüenza criticized those Spanish painters who, no doubt in response to the wishes of their clientele, tended to 'afectar mucha dulzura'; this was cobardía and not the valentía he welcomed in art (see above, p. 38). In a conversation between a Spanish ambassador and Titian reported by Antonio Pérez (before 1611) dulzura is contrasted with the golpes groseros of Titian's brush:

> Preguntábale un día el embajador [...] por qué había dado en aquella manera de pintar tan sabida suya, de golpes de pincel groseros, casi como borrones al descuido [...] y no con la dulzura del pincel de los raros de su tiempo; respondió el Ticiano: Señor, yo desconfié de llegar a la delicadeza y primor del pincel de Micael Angelo, Urbino, Corregio y Parmesano.(Fuentes, V, 372)

Titian explains that since he could not hope to match them his ambition had driven him to 'echar por camino nuevo' in search of fame. Céspedes, writing in 1604, still admires the 'ternura grande' of Raphael's work, along with his gracia, donaire and simplicidad.[72] Sigüenza does not appear to have used the term dulzura to praise paintings, but only (as we have seen) to highlight what he considers a 'común vicio' among Spanish painters of his time. Several questions now

present themselves, though answers to them are not easy to find: were the manera dulce and the manera acabada, as described by Sigüenza, related approaches to painting? For him they are both in some way opposed to the notion of valentía. Did the prevailing taste for either the one or the other mode give way to the kind of 'camino nuevo' attributed to Titian, which, with the ambassador's reference to 'golpes', anticipates the style (valientes golpes) admired by Juan de Piña and his reading public? For Piña lo dulce can coexist with lo fuerte and with 'lo de la gran manera'(see above, p. 34). Carducho reports coexistence but draws an interesting distinction; while discussing the different ways (modos) of painting, he appears to imply that the 'modo dulce y hermoso' is used to satisfy the public while chiaroscuro painting is done 'atendiendo al Arte'(fol. 88ʳ). One can only conclude that public taste in art continued to favour the 'modo dulce' well into the seventeenth century, although other evidence suggests that Caravaggio's influence on Spanish painting of the same period was profound and far-reaching.[73] As far as the modo acabado was concerned, the emergence of the key adjective fiel (which was widely applied to art) would suggest that attention to detail continued to be a powerful criterion, while the growing popularity of the dibujo metaphor in literary criticism (see below, pp. 85, 89, 92, 98, 114, and 152) points to a liking for accuracy of design without a plodding concern with finish.

As a term of literary criticism, dulce dates back to Horace with his reference to 'poemata dulcia'.[74] By the sixteenth

century it had become very popular in Spain: in 1564 Gil Polo is congratulated on his Diana enamorada with the words 'con grave estilo y gracia soberana, dulce canción en las veredas cante'; in 1575 Argote de Molina refers to 'la dulzura y lindeza de conceptos', while in 1580 Fernando de Herrera describes how Petrarch's love poetry displays 'pureza, dulzura y gracia'.[75] Herrera also appears to indicate that, in poetry, abuse of dulzura could lead to excessive blandura and terneza, thereby removing from the poem its composición and fuerza (148). It would seem that dulzura in verse had the same kind of popular appeal as it did in painting; the connoisseur might be looking for something with more hidden appeal. In 1631 Pellicer says as much about the poetry of Pantaleón de Ribera; in his introduction Pellicer sets the popular appeal of dulzura and claridad against the subtler 'sweetness' of the less accessible:

> Los que miran la poesía por el lado de dulce echan menos la claridad. No quieren buscarla, sino que los busque y no saben que el agua del mar es más dulce en lo profundo. Condición es de lo precioso vivir escondido.[76]

Here is an interesting parallel between art and poetry: dulzura in painting had (according to Covarrubias) no 'sombras crudas', no strong chiaroscuro effects of the kind which were evidently becoming popular among art lovers - in Butrón's words, lo escondido (see above, p. 32). So, although the majority of poets still aimed to write 'con dulzura, afecto y eficacia'(Jauregui, 1618), there was a movement away from the mainstream and into the closed garden of lo profundo." In the context of drama the term dulzura is applied by Cervantes to the work of Guillén de Castro ('la suavidad y dulzura') and by

Quevedo to the plays of Lope de Vega ('tan dignas de alabanza en el estilo y dulzura, afectos y sentencia').[78] Here dulzura conveys notions like popular appeal, accessibility, mildness of style and the potential to give pleasurable entertainment to the audience.

The term gracia was quite clearly incorporated from Italian literary and artistic theory, but the history of that transfer and the precise meaning of the word remain problematic. The concept of grazia is fundamental to Castiglione's canons of etiquette where it conveys the notion of nonchalance and ease in a whole range of contexts. When adopted by Italian art theorists the term grazia, according to Mark Roskill and Anthony Blunt, 'remained unspecified and unelucidated' (Roskill, 19). For Pino grazia equalled belleza, while Vasari refers to 'facilità graziosa et dolce'(Roskill, 19). Without clearly defining the term, Vasari offers clues which Anthony Blunt summarized:

> Beauty is a rational quality dependent on rules, whereas grace is an undefinable quality dependent on judgement and therefore on the eye [...] it is in grace and not beauty that Vasari is most genuinely interested. He speaks of 'delicacy, refinement and supreme grace' as 'the qualities produced by the perfection of art [...] Correctness cannot produce grace [...] Grace is, for instance, usually contrasted with the serious and the sublime [...] The clearest idea of grace in the sense used by Vasari is its connection with facility.[79]

Roskill points out that, according to Vasari, art containing grazia and facilità will not achieve its maximum potential without the essential ingredient of disegno (65). For Dolce (in 1557) gratia[sic] is a key word, translated by Roskill as 'charm'; he speaks of 'convenevole sprezzatura' (translated as 'proper casualness') and the avoiding of any affectation

'perche si cade nell'affettatione, che priva de gratia qualunque cosa'(156); Armenino (in 1587) also uses phrases like 'le grazie della Pittura' and 'facilità e grazie'.[80]

Despite its popularity in Italian art theory the word gracia seems to have become established as a painting term in Spain long after its use to describe literary qualities. None of the scattered references to art gathered by Sánchez Cantón (Fuentes, V) includes the term before 1620, although by 1604 Céspedes and his circle had established gracia as an important criterion, particularly for their appreciation of the work of Raphael, who (according to Céspedes) 'añadió a la pintura, junto con el crecimiento del dibujo, la mayor gracia que jamás se había visto y creo no se verá'(Discurso, 99). As with dulce, the term gracia was used as early as 1564 to identify a feature of literary style, in this case the writings of Gaspar Gil Polo (see above, p. 48). In 1575 Argote de Molina, referring to poetry, talks of 'gracia, lindeza y agudez [sic]' and describes a copla as 'compostura cierto graciosa, dulce'(Discurso sobre la poesía, 31). It is of course no surprise to find the term deeply embedded in Herrera's critical repertoire. So a tentative migration of terminology can be posited: in Spain gracia seems to have become a literary term before it was a painting term, despite the powerful influence exerted by Italian art theory. Once established it soon became a fundamental element in Spanish writing on painting. For José de Sigüenza paintings could have 'poca gracia' or 'singular gracia'; he criticizes a picture of St. Philip by Navarrete because 'parece todo ello

algo desgraciado por el colorido de las ropas'(Historia, 120). His expressed dislike of typical Flemish painting, with particular reference to Michael Cusin, points to factors that were linked in his mind with the concept of gracia: 'aquella manera propia de flamenco, que naturalmente es desgraciada, de poca fuerza y pobre movimiento'(Historia, 136). Sigüenza's frequent recourse to the term gracia appears to have been unhindered by any potential confusion with the alternative and well-established meaning of the word; he speaks of 'graciosos brutescos [ie. grutescos]' and later describes a painting of a farmworker's house which he finds amusing: 'con tanta propiedad y gracia que hace reír y recrea mucho la vista'(123 and 135). The writers of painting manuals went on to endorse the notion of gracia and to equate it with artistic mastery; Gutiérrez de los Ríos (in 1600) stresses the labour involved in giving gracia to one's paintings and suggests that only 'los grandes artífices alcanzan esta gracia'(Noticia, 118 and 164); Carducho later credits Apelles with 'aquella gracia de ninguno imitada'(Diálogos, fol. 28^{r}), and echoes Céspedes' praise for Raphael's ability to paint cherubs with donaire and gracia (fol. 6^{r}). These two terms were evidently linked in people's minds as indicated by Covarrubias' definitions: under gracia he includes 'tener gracia, tener donaire y agrado. Dar gracia a una cosa, darle buen talle y espíritu.' His definition of donaire reinforces the connection:

> Vale gracia y buen parecer en lo que se dice o hace; porque aire lo mesmo es que gracia y espíritu, promptitud, viveza.

Covarrubias makes no specific reference to either literature or art when discussing gracia, but another clue is provided under desgracia when he tells us that 'al que canta sin gala, decimos ser desgraciado.' (In the DRAE it is no surprise to find gala defined as 'gracia, garbo y bizarría en hacer o decir algo'.) One can reconstruct a healthy range of terms synonymous with and related to gracia from the definitions of Covarrubias and from the literary prologues of the period. For example, Juan de Jauregui uses the introduction to his Rimas (pub. 1618) to warn against superficial brilliance in poetry, where cultured writers can offend as much as the untutored:

> Es su plaga tan común y se extiende no sólo a los faltos de dotrina, sino también a muchos estudiosos, que se hallan desnudos de agudeza y gracia, cuanto revestidos de letura y arte. Así que no pretendan estimación alguna los escritos afeitados, con resplandor de palabras, si en el sentido juntamente no descubren mucha alma y espíritu, mucha corpulencia y nervio. Por tan estrecha senda caminaron los autores célebres, que con dulzura, afecto y eficacia rara hoy mueven y deleitan a quien los lee.[81]

Style, structure and power of effect go hand in hand, and can rarely be studied in isolation from each other. It is hard for a modern scholar to be sure where the realms of gracia and dulzura stopped, so to speak, and where those of alma, espíritu, afecto and eficacia began. For example, garbo was synonymous with gracia and used as early as 1575 by Argote de Molina in connection with poetry; Covarrubias defines garbo as 'el buen aire y talante en las personas', but does not mention it as a critical term; Autoridades indicates that garbo could refer to technique: 'cierto aire, y modo de hacer las cosas con perfección, que las hace más agradables y

vistosas'. Around 1578 Andrés Rey de Artieda maintains that modern dramatists and theatre audiences do not want classical restrictions (clasps and bolts: 'tanta hebilla y pernos'), and that plays should be 'mas bien garbados, llanos y modernos'.[82] Dolce and Armenino both employ the word, and it seems safe to assume that it was imported from Italian writing on art. But Armenino presents us with a problem in that we cannot be sure whether garbo is more closely connected to style or to structure in the following comments: 'con ordinato componimento, dal quale si discerne il garbo per le sue debite misure'.[83] To compound our predicament there may have been a difference of degree between gracia and garbo that we can no longer detect; a modern dictionary of Italian at least arouses one's suspicions with definitions of garbo that include 'bella forma', 'maniera piacevole' and 'grazia (ma garbo esprime un po' meno)'.[84] Covarrubias asserts that gracia, viveza, promptitud, espíritu and aire are the same thing: 'lo mesmo' (see above, p. 51). Gracia seems to have straddled the two critical entities we perceive as style and power of effect.

Having devoted some time to the repertoire of terminology which was available for the late sixteenth-century Spaniard to explain quality and style in painting and literature (where there was clearly cross-fertilization of jargon and borrowing from Italian) I shall briefly examine some of the words that were employed to express the power of a painting's effect on the viewer, its capacity to capture and convey emotion. As early as 1560 Felipe de Guevara states that even tonal painting can express afectos like 'el ánimo y la vergüenza y

la osadía', and that a painter well-versed in the classics can 'declarar mejor los movimientos y variedades de los ánimos'(Comentarios, 93 and 104). Gutiérrez de los Ríos explains that the painter should aim to paint people 'de manera que nos parezca que están hablando y con espíritu'(Noticia, 158). Suárez de Figueroa (paraphrasing Garzoni) maintains that painting can show 'las pasiones del hombre, los sentidos del ánimo, y casi la misma voz'(Plaza, fol. 304^{r}). Jaureguí (around 1624) asserts that 'los grandes Artífices pintan los ánimos, con todos sus afectos ocultos, varios y encontrados'.[85] Butrón (in 1626) tells us at least three times that painting 'imita los afectos humanos'(Discursos, fol. 2^{r}). Covarrubias' definition of afecto embraces the double notion of experiencing an emotion ('pasión del ánima[sic]') and the conveying of that emotion to others, that is our capacity to move others, which he considers particularly important for orators. For the 'disciple' in Carducho's Diálogos, the power to transmit emotion through painting is one of his main ambitions:

> hacer en la superficie cuerpos, y siendo muertos, y sin alma ninguna (como vivas) hablen, persuadan, muevan, alegren, entristezcan, enseñen al entendimiento, representen a la memoria, formen a la imaginativa, con tanto afecto, con tanta fuerza, que engañen a los sentidos, cuando venzan a las potencias.(fol. 3^{r})

Both Gutiérrez de los Ríos and Jaureguí stress that painting has the capacity to convey emotional effects with more fuerza than a written account, while another aficionado of painting, José de Valdivielso, underlines its 'energía en persuadir y mover'; for Covarrubias energía is 'la fuerza que encierran en sí algunas palabras preñadas y dichas con cierto espíritu, que

nos publican lo que callan'.[86] When comparing sculpture and painting, Carducho sees a shared aim to achieve viveza:

> Ambas miran a un mismo fin, y tienen un mismo objeto, que es representarnos el hecho de algún suceso, y las cosas como están formadas de la naturaleza, con los afectos, y viveza que suele hacer la misma verdad.(fol. 92ʳ)

The term viveza was established in literary criticism by 1575 when Argote de Molina speaks of 'vivez [sic]', while for Herrera viveza is the opposite of 'flojedad y regalo del verso'[87]. Later, Pellicer de Tovar (in 1631) refers to some compositions by Pantaleón de Ribera where 'se guardaba todo en una viveza salada'.[88]

Another word increasingly used to convey the notion of persuasive accuracy was the simple adjective fiel. I have found no evidence to suggest that its Italian counterpart fedele figured in what was an extensive repertoire of critical terminology. Neither Covarrubias nor Autoridades mention a figurative usage of fiel in connection with art or literature, but it was clearly emerging as a key word. In his short Diálogo entre la Naturaleza y las dos Artes, Pintura y Escultura (pub. 1618), Jauregui uses the word fiel three times.[89] Sculpture maintains that it imitates Christ 'con mil simulacros fieles'(152), and the author is here punning on the double meaning of fiel, since Sculpture states that before the advent of Christianity it made 'algún ídolo profano'(152). Nature says that the objective (fin) of both arts is to copy her, 'copiando mi natural'(154), while Painting sees truth to nature as the main criterion for assessment of their success:

> Nuestras artes se acreditan
> si perfectamente saben
> copiar las formas que imitan.(154)

In her final verdict Nature gives preference to Painting because it can imitate a wider range of subject matter. Sculpture cannot match this: 'El buril no ha de imitar/ fielmente, en materia alguna,/ al fuego, al rayo solar'(155). There is no double meaning here, and the author's choice of fielmente was in no way dictated or suggested by the need to rhyme with pincel as it probably was in his third use of the term:

> Ésta es ya la Prospectiva,
> en cuyo cimiento estriba
> cuanto colora el pincel;
> arte difícil y esquiva,
> y, más que difícil, fiel.(156)

There is further evidence that the term fiel (together with its implications) had come strongly into fashion in an anonymous 'memorial' (probably written by Carducho around 1619) which advocates the setting up of a painting academy to ensure the preservation of high artistic standards.[90] The writer states that 'es la pintura fiel guarda y conservación de la antigüedad y secretos naturales'(166), in a passage later reproduced literally in Carducho's Diálogos; indeed, elsewhere in his painting manual Carducho defines painting as 'muda historia, relatadora fiel e instantánea'(fol. 116^{r}). Returning to the 'memorial', we are assured by the writer that if the proposed academy is formed the paintings will be 'hechas con fidelidad y amor, como de leales criados'(168); once again this looks like a pun on the double meaning of faithfulness. Fiel was clearly an adjective which came to

people's minds when evaluating an image, especially portraiture in the context of arranged marriages where, if we can believe Castillo Solórzano (and not the conventions of the theatre), painters were usually guilty of flattery:

> Vio en el original de la hermosa Brianda haber andado <u>fidelísimo</u> el pincel, pocas veces usado a copiar verdades cuando se han de decir con las colores en empleos como éstos.[91]

To sum up: in late sixteenth-century Spain there was a wealth of terminology available to describe and evaluate literature and painting, and much of that terminology had been borrowed from Italian sources. There were plenty of words to denote standards in art and to describe styles of painting and the forceful effect of lifelike pictures. Comparison with England at the same date is instructive: in a history of literary criticism George Watson has concluded that 'there was no Elizabethan tradition in descriptive criticism' and that in the absence of a native tradition in critical analysis Dryden 'was forced to start from scratch'.[92] Similarly Lucy Gent refers to 'the desperate shortage in sixteenth-century English of terms to do with art' and conjures up images of translators struggling with Castiglione's comments on art and occasionally 'floored' by Lomazzo (<u>Picture and Poetry</u>, 9, 15 and 16). In the Spanish art market, supply and demand were evidently driving each other to consolidate something of a craze for painting and for portraiture in particular. Collectors and clients needed access to specific jargon, if only to avoid embarrassing ignorance or some <u>faux pas</u> of the sort immortalized in Alexander's foray into the painter's studio and his deserved rebuke from Apelles. This theme comes across

in Carducho's Diálogos when he offers a list of general terms for praising paintings because this will help the would-be connoisseur to make the right noises and avoid being told to shut up because he knows so little about art (fol. 134ᵛ). Similarly, José de Sigüenza includes specialist jargon and explains it for those who might want to learn, as for example in 'tan inventivo, o como ellos dicen caprichoso'(Fuentes, I, 384). E.H. Gombrich has made the point in passing that different periods of history are known to have had different standards of 'lifelikeness', and Lucy Gent has explained how Elizabethan poets 'praise a degree of artistry in their pictures which it turns out to be impossible to match in the works of art they had around them'.[93] So when a contract from the 1590s stipulates that the sculptor Leoni should produce 'la figura y persona del señor arzobispo con el retrato al natural tan al propio como sea posible', one can conclude perhaps no more than that the image was to show the man as an individual and not just as a type who would be recognizable from his insignia.[94]

Specialists in the fields of Spanish and Italian art and art theory of the late sixteenth century have drawn attention to what has variously been called a crisis, a conflict, a difference and a development of painting styles. In Italy a significant amount of art was at odds with the prevailing classicist theories and much of that art was admired. The theorists in the Italian seventeenth century maintained that the artist should form a concept of Divine beauty and improve on Nature. What was prized was the idealization of the real,

and not the mere emulation of the natural which was imperfect (or 'depravada', as it was called in Spain). Even in portraiture the 'Idea' should prevail, and without parting from likeness the artist could aid nature with art. Caravaggio, although recognized as a good colourist, was said to have deserted the Idea of beauty and given himself over to realism. Furthermore, it was said that the naturalists merely copied the ugliness of their models. Amidst all this, Castelvetro was criticized by Bellori for maintaining that 'the virtue of painting is not in creating a beautiful or perfect image, but in resembling the natural, either beautiful or deformed, for an excess of beauty lessens the likeness'.[95]

In Spain the idealist and naturalist approaches to painting were distinct, if not opposed, stylistic tendencies. Referring to Velázquez and Carducho, Martín González sees head-on conflict: 'dos estéticas pictóricas se colocan en lid, con riesgo de exterminar una a la otra'.[96] Carducho is seen as subscribing to 'unos supuestos estéticos y pictóricos ya trasnochados [en] un ambiente que se había pasado en tromba al bando realista'(6). The Diálogos seem to Martín González to reinforce this view of artistic theories undergoing profound changes:

> No escasean las contradicciones. Así, mientras define que «la pintura es imitación de la naturaleza ... semejanza y retrato de todo lo visible, según se nos presenta a la vista», no deja de afirmar más adelante que «se ha de estudiar del natural y no copiar, y así el usar de él será después de haber racionado, especulado lo bueno y lo malo de la propia esencia». La primera posición es la de un realista, mientras que la segunda corresponde a un idealista.(7)

Jonathan Brown prefers to suggest an 'evolution of style in Spanish painting during the seventeenth century [which] has much to do with the impact of innovative non-Spanish artists, notably Caravaggio and Rubens'.[97] A brief glance at some Siglo de Oro definitions of painting will confirm the existence of different aesthetic standpoints.

Francisco de Holanda (who wrote and was translated from the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth century) refers to the artistic idea while at the next moment attributing the following statement to Michelangelo: 'aquella es la excelente y divina pintura que más se parece y mejor imita cualquiera obra del inmortal Dios'(Fuentes, I, 97, cf. 101 and 97). For Felipe de Guevara (c.1560) painting imitates nature 'de la cual la Pintura toma imitación'(Comentarios, 83), but painting must also involve the concept of the Idea:

> La Pintura es imagen de aquello que es o puede ser. La Pintura sirve para mostrar las cosas que la imitativa en su idea tiene concebidas.(91-92)

With specific reference to portraiture, Guevara retells two stories of Apelles which imply a contradiction in criteria: while he painted the deformed Antioco with 'decoro y discreción' to hide his imperfections, he also painted men 'tan al propio y con tanta semejanza' that a physionomist was able to draw conclusions from the features of the subjects (Comentarios, 247 and 254). There are similar contradictions in the statements made by Gutiérrez de los Ríos (in 1600). On the one hand he says that art imitates nature 'en cuanto puede'(Noticia, 20), and then tells us that the aim of the arts ('las artes') is to 'curar la misma naturaleza que está

depravada'(29). There are several more references to painting imitating nature, and, as in Guevara's case, to the need for the painter to use ficciones to improve nature ('para hacer [las cosas] más hermosas'), exemplified in the case of Antigono:

> Se lee de Apeles, que para disimular a Antigono la falta del ojo, le pintó de un lado, que a pintarle de ambos no pudiera dejar de dar a entender la verdad.(159)

Suárez de Figueroa, translating Garzoni precisely, calls painting a 'sagaz imitadora de la naturaleza'(Plaza, fol. 304^{r}) and tells the story of Antigono's portrait with Apelles 'mostrando la belleza, y quitando con el juicio la deformidad'(fol. 305^{r}).

All of these statements suggest compromise and represent at least a difference of emphasis between realism and idealism, but there was another significant factor in play. Art theorists of the period were anxious to stress the mental as distinct from the physical (or menial) side of painting: Jaureguí calls this 'la especulación' and emphasizes painting's 'inmensa dificultad de ingenio'(Discourse, fols 3^{v} and 1^{v}), while Holanda defines painting as an 'arte no digna sino de altos entendimientos' (Fuentes, I, 92). For these writers it was essential to stress the thinking involved in painting, using words like concebir, raciocinar, entendimiento and discurrir, as a way of establishing the status of painting as a liberal (and not a mechanical) art, since there was exemption from certain taxes (alcabalas) at stake, and not just self-esteem. Butrón makes statements about the aims and status of painting which echo those of Gutiérrez de los Ríos,

while Carducho draws a distinction between 'docta pintura' and 'simple imitación'; for him the first is the 'verdadero modo'(Diálogos, fol. 89ᵛ) which some painters have turned their backs on, most noticeably Caravaggio, whose technique Carducho describes as 'tan recio, ignoto, e incompatible modo, como es el obrar sin las preparaciones para tal acción'(fol. 89ʳ). The painter should not be viewed as a mere copyist, but as a thinker.

There can be no doubt that new styles of painting were coming into fashion and gradually consigning others to history: Carducho himself observes that styles do go out of fashion when he has his 'master' praise the sketches of Becerra and lament that nobody cares for them any longer (fol. 48ʳ). He also resents the fact that in portraiture standards have plummeted as the nouveaux riches have borrowed the plumes of the aristocracy, adopting their modo, insignias, gravedad and postura (fols 110ᵛ-111ᵛ). Whether in response to natural developments, external influences or socio-economic factors (or a combination of these), theories and criteria of painting, far from constituting a monolithic school of thought, were quite clearly in a state of flux, even upheaval. Carducho's comments on still-life and low-life paintings convey a particularly vehement reaction to new vogues in art:

> abatiendo el generoso Arte a conceptos humildes, como se ve hoy, de tantos cuadros de bodegones con bajos y vilísimos pensamientos, y otros de borrachos, otros de fulleros ta[h]úres, y cosas semejantes, sin más ingenio, ni más asunto, de habérsele antojado al Pintor retratar cuatro pícaros descompuestos, y dos mujeres desaliñadas, en mengua del mismo Arte, y poca reputación del Artífice.(fol. 112ʳ)

What asunto (or 'subject') could there be in portraying what Carducho calls such 'impropiedades e indecencias'(fol. 112[r])? The word asunto repays closer examination; Autoridades defines it as 'la materia o thema de la oración', and offers the Quijote, Pt. 2 (1615) as its earliest reference. The word seems to have become fashionable in literary jargon in the 1620s when, for example, Salas Barbadillo refers to his main character in El caballero perfecto (pub. 1620) as 'el asunto de nuestra historia'[98] This is a moral work, hence his stated intentions: 'proponer [another vogue word] a los ojos un ejemplo moral' and 'formar la idea de un Caballero Perfecto'. By way of contrast, the same author offers his readers El cortesano descortés in 1621, a very different work with a very different asunto, namely 'las figuras de aquéllos, que [...] se hacen ridículos en la República', which he calls a retrato and a copia.[99] So a retrato of a ridiculous subject could constitute the asunto of a literary work. In 1623, don Diego de Noche is also described by Salas Barbadillo as the 'asumpto' of a book containing a mixture of 'agradables, y honestas ficciones' and 'provechosos avisos, y documentos'.[100] In 1637, Castillo Solórzano describes el Bachiller Trapaza as 'el redículo[sic] asumpto deste libro' and 'héroe jocoso', while in 1639 he calls the dead king Pedro, the subject of a moral work, 'el asumpto deste breve epítome', and refers to the 'graves asumptos' of this exemplary book, in which the king is 'un fiel dechado, una norma perfecta para ser ejemplo de Reyes': the parallel usage of modern and archaic forms hints at, without confirming, the novelty of the term.[101]

It seems safe to conclude that there was an ongoing debate surrounding acceptable forms of subject matter for both literary and artistic portraiture, and that the debate did not focus simply on the manner of representation. In this debate the connotations of words like retrato and asunto were under review: one man's retrato was another man's insult to art, and one man's asunto was beneath another's contempt. What does emerge is the notion that representation of the unheroic was worthy of more accurate portrayal and less distortion, since the prevailing criterion for perfect portraiture, whether literary or artistic, centred on faithfulness to the subject, as in this example from 1598:

> La perfición del raro pintor que retrata consiste en que con su delicado pincel haga tan proprio, semejante, y natural, el retrato que notoriamente se conozca en él el original que representar pretende.[102]

Apart from the particularly emphatic notoriamente, several other words here deserve comment; the combination 'raro pintor' existed in sixteenth-century Italian art criticism (for example, as 'raro pittore' in Dolce), and although it may have continued to convey notions of the superior being (as for example in Jaureguí's image of 'el ingenio rarísimo e incomparable del que en [la pintura] acierta'), it evidently became something of a cliché.[103] Similarly, although 'delicado pincel' began by referring to a specific manner of painting, it also eventually became a catchphrase; indeed, as early as 1557 we find the Italian Dolce suggesting that painters sometimes called their works delicate to hide their lack of skill.[104]

When a painting was praised for being fiel, whether it was a canvas or a literary image, there is persuasive evidence to conclude that the viewer was not looking for the 'formal, depersonalized portrait type' which Gareth Davies posits as the pictorial equivalent of the pintura in verse.[105] Portraits did not stop being vehicles of meaning and their emblematic content retained its vigour, but retrato had ceased to connote a mere 'type' in people's minds. Nigel Glendinning's conclusions seem much closer to the truth:

> Obviously faithfulness to nature was especially important in the portrait. 'Portraits should not hide the sitter's blemishes', wrote Pacheco, though prudence was to be exercised when painting persons of importance.[106]

He goes on to offer as an example Sánchez Coello's prudence in disguising the uneven shoulders of Prince Carlos (15). As an illustration of what on balance looks like a move towards the literal portrait one need look no further than the startling image of the Princesa de Ebolí (with her patch over one eye) which was also painted by Sánchez Coello.[107] Furthermore, many of the engraved portraits of authors which were published in books of the period look far more like specific individuals than depersonalized types.[108] It was a painter's skill in creating an excellent likeness which sent so many poets into raptures that were not merely rhetorical, even if by modern 'photographic' standards the portraits fell short of complete fidelity and even if the act of recording astonishment turned into a rhetorical exercise. After all, a good painting of an ordinary or even ugly subject was still a good painting of a (debatably) worthy subject: López de Ubeda has Justina assert

just this with the words 'tan bien se vende una pintura fea, si es con arte, como una hermosa y bella'(see below, p. 119). Here the likelihood of parodic intent does not discredit the stated notion that there were ways in which, literally and metaphorically, the less attractive features of mankind could be well painted, and that the painter deserved credit for the skill displayed in achieving this.

Around 1600 a literary debate which had figured significantly in the period from 1540 to 1560 became topical once more: the issue centred on how the writer was to portray faithfully the human context in which evil or unedifying behaviour took place - in essence, how to 'pintar bien' lowlife scenes and character types. Writers in the earlier period were at pains to justify their accurate representation of the common people and to defend themselves against the charge of creating works which had the potential to corrupt. For example, in 1561 Luis Milán makes a strong case for the writer's need to reproduce language that is realistic:

> La intinción [sic] mía en este Cortesano ha sido representar todo lo que en Corte de Príncipes se trata: Diversidad de lenguas, por las diversas nasciones que suele tener. Uso de todos los estilos, usando del Altiloco en las cosas altas [...] Sirviéndome del Mediocre, para las conversaciones jocosas de graves Cortesanos. Ejercitando el Infimo para las pláticas risueñas de Donosos y Truhanes [...] Yo pido de merced a quien leyere este libro, que mire la intinción de cada cosa para lo que fue hecha: que no hay bajedad mal dicha, si sta [ie. está] como debe.[109]

The same question was addressed in the prologues to a series of works inspired by and deriving ultimately from La Celestina. Juan Rodríguez (in 1554) assures his readers that he is offering them 'verdades' amidst 'malicias', and 'grandes

avisos' beneath the 'casos feos' in his Comedia Florinea.[110] Sebastián Fernández, in his Tragedia Claudina (pub. 1548), seems keener to justify any unsavoury content (in a nonetheless edifying work) on the basis of stylistic integrity, prefiguring the line of argument employed by Milán:

> Acordé [...] ocuparme en componer esta escriptura: con la cual aunque debajo de algún color ridículo tomen aviso los vanos mancebos de los desastres que el amor encubre con el cebo del deleite mundano [...] Y si alguno con su parescer mi obra quisiese condenar por sospechosa a lo menos no me puede negar ser mi voluntad virtuosa [...] Y si algo paresciere que a los oídos del honesto y casto lector haga ofensa. Crea de mí que no lo digo con ánimo deshonesto sino porque el frasis y decor de la obra no se pervierta.[111]

Here color ridículo relates to the notion of accurate portrayal and not to comic distortion; one can detect here hints of a fledgling aesthetic criterion (as distinct from the moral dimension of literature) expressed in the (perhaps intentionally provocative) use of the term decor which Torres Naharro, among others, had also espoused (see below, p. 212: note 3). The use by Fernández of the word color in this context is not an isolated example; it is a key factor in the prologue by the printer Juan de Junta to Lisandro y Roselia (pub. 1542) by Sancho de Muñón.[112] Junta discusses the long-standing issue of how one should approach 'ficciones y cuentos fabulosos y poéticos'; while some think it best to avoid them, others recommend an approach which takes what is good and rejects what is bad. What is bad in these works is not accidental, however, but deliberately ('adrede') included along with the philosophical doctrine, and he explains why:

> por conformarse con la calidad de las personas que introducen, como si introdujesen un mancebo vicioso que habla cosas en favor del deleite, o un tirano en favor

> de la crueldad, o un avaro en favor de la avaricia, no por esto hemos de entender que la intención del autor fue alabar aquellos vicios, sino que los quiso pintar con sus colores para que el de sano entendimiento se supiese guardar de ellos.(vii)

Here the verdad of Rodríguez and the color ridículo of Fernández overlap; to paint evil characters with their appropriate colours is synonymous with truthful representation. Obviously, the miser behaves according to type, but we should (and do) see him portrayed 'con sus colores', and not distorted so as to avoid giving offence. In order to point to evil as evil the writer (and artist) must show it with sufficient accuracy for the reader to recognize it and, if he is of 'sano entendimiento', choose to avoid it.

This question of how to 'paint' the true colours of sinful or reprehensible characters became topical again around 1600 when every kind of aesthetic criterion was undergoing revaluation in response to the challenge of a new art for the new times. There are echoes of Juan de Junta's painting metaphor in this prologue from 1590:

> Los confesores no tienen de ordinario tanto lugar y espacio que puedan de propósito asentar la mano en la reprehensión deste vicio, y dar a entender al pecador cuán feo y pernicioso es, y pintalle como dicen de sus colores. Lo cual es gran parte para estrañalle y aborrecelle los hombres, y convertirse al limpio estado de la castidad.[113]

As with the text from 1542, the painting of colours here is the showing of truth, and the moral purpose can best be achieved that way. The phrase 'como dicen' offers a hint that the writer has resorted to either a piece of topical jargon (ie. 'as people are saying') or to something with proverbial status (ie. 'as people say') in the way English speakers refer to painting someone in his or her 'true colours'. The word

color apparently carries no pejorative connotation of deceit when used with pintar in this particular idiom. Also at the turn of the century (around 1604) Francisco Cascales meditates in print on the whole issue surrounding the apparent paradox of painting morally bad action well, what he calls 'pintar bien'. In his Tablas poéticas Cascales is dealing in a dialogue format with the topic of 'las costumbres' when he has Pierio take issue with Castalio (the spokesman for Cascales) over the notion of 'costumbres buenas':

> Si las costumbres (como vos decís en nombre de Aristóteles) deben ser buenas, excluidos quedamos de pintar y describir las partes y costumbres de un rufián, de una alcahueta, de un traidor, de un ladrón y de otros semejantes que son en la República de mal ejemplo, y necesariamente en ellos se ha de hacer imitación de malas costumbres, y el que las pusiere habrá quebrantado vuestro precepto.[114]

The answer Castalio gives to this first objection, of which he says 'no es poco fuerte', is interesting in that it seems to reveal an unresolved debate going on in the background: 'si se ha de confesar la verdad, es cosa que se puede disputar en pro y en contra'(78). After all, he continues, Plato ('Divino Platón') exiled poets from his Republic because people might be exposed to bad examples, since it is the poet's obligation to present both good and bad: 'está obligado a hacer imitación de las costumbres buenas y malas'(78). Aristotle was more lenient than Plato, allowing the portrayal of evil on the grounds that the sticky end sinners came to would drive home the moral point:

> Porque su parecer [de Aristóteles] es que los oyentes o lectores, viendo o leyendo pintada al vivo y representada la vida mala y costumbres malas de hombres facinorosos, conocen el daño y peligro de que se han de guardar, y temen ir por aquel camino.(79)

Castalio has now prepared the ground for his view of the circumstances in which evil can be portrayed in literature. Dealing first with the moral dimension, he concludes that 'costumbres malas' are admissible in literature 'principalmente, si estas personas de mal ejemplo rematan en algún grave castigo o infortunio digno de sus pecados'(79). His treatment of the aesthetic reasons for showing accurate images of evil takes up a line of argument that, as we have seen, was expounded much earlier in the sixteenth century:

> De suerte que cuando pinto yo las costumbres de un rufián o de otra persona ruin, por mi parte son las costumbres buenas, porque las pinto como son. Y pintar yo en este mal hombre costumbres buenas, sería pintarlas malas en razón de poesía: como si las propriedades y costumbres buenas de un buen caballero las atribuyese al rufián, sería describir malas costumbres.(79)

Cascales is still thinking in terms of human types who behave in predictable ways, and not of characters who develop or (in the case of theatre) of a mixture of higher and lower classes that reflects reality. By the mid 1620s others had extended the range of the painting metaphor to cover some of those things that Cascales could not countenance, and to cover much more besides.

To sum up: in late sixteenth-century Spain the standard Christian approach to the creative arts as a means to glorify God and to illustrate the sublime by revealing the idea behind nature's forms had yielded some ground to a more man-centred conception of art, in which the artist was to show in his imitation of human action the context in which good and evil arose, and to do so in such a way that the moral impact of his creation was intimately linked to (and depended on) the

truthful quality of the portrayal. The retrato came to stand for something which was mostly separate from the idea: literal likeness as distinct from idealized representation. The new art for new times needed new metaphors to express its aims and, although there was historical as well as contemporary resistance to some of the jargon that was used for that purpose (words like mentir and afeite), a wealth of invented or borrowed terminology developed to meet the demand. Since more people wanted to buy paintings (especially portraits) more people found occasion to express their opinion on what they liked or looked for in a painting. In the late sixteenth century a high degree of accuracy and finish had become the prevailing trend in taste, while among the connoisseurs the virtue of the golpe valiente was starting to take shape as an essential criterion. Certain phrases began to assume literal and metaphorical importance in this changing aesthetic: vivo retrato, pintura fiel, pintar de sus colores, buen pincel, pintor docto, pintor diestro, pintar bien, pintar el ánimo, pintar lo vario, pintar la verdad and claro espejo y dechado. Since the portrait analogue came to assume so much importance in relation to both the comedia and the picaresque novel while the mirror analogue was conspicuous by its absence in those areas, my next chapter will concentrate on the literary context in which the speculum consuetudinis of Cicero's famous dictum eventually parted metaphorical company with the imago veritatis in what had until then seemed an immutable definition of comedy, and by extension of theatre as a whole.

Chapter One - Notes

(1) Typical is the statement by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa that '[La pintura] tiene estrechísimo comercio con la poesía', which is an exact translation of the terms used by his Italian source, Tomaso Garzoni: 'ha commercio strettissimo con la poesia'; see Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes (Madrid, 1615) fol. 302^{v}, and Piazza universale (1585) in Opere (Venice, 1617) fol. 290^{r}. In this context, compare also Vicente Carducho's assertion that 'siempre la Poesía y la Pintura se prestaron los conceptos'(Diálogos de la pintura, Madrid, 1633, fol. 65^{v}; all further references are to this edition). Castelvetro's commentary on Aristotle's Poetics (pub. 1570 and 1576) constituted an exception to this tendency; as Bernard Weinberg has stated, 'Aristotle's likening of poetry to painting, thinks Castelvetro, is essentially erroneous; for there are more dissimilaries than similarities between the two arts [...] The resemblance to painting is specifically denied', see 'Castelvetro's Theory of Poetics', in Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern, ed. R.S. Crane (Chicago, 1952), 349-71, especially 369-70.

(2) Juan Pérez de Moya, Filosofía secreta [1585] ed. E. Gómez de Baquero (Madrid, 1928), 31. Compare Francisco de Luque Faxardo: 'El demonio [...], como padre de engaños y mentiras; particularmente en materia de andar embaucando los hombres con fingidas apariencias', in Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos [1603] 2 vols, ed. Martín de Riquer (Madrid, 1955), I, 254.

(3) José de Valdivielso, 'En gracia del arte noble de la pintura', appended to Carducho, Diálogos, fol. 184^{r}.

(4) Alonso López Pinciano, Philosophía antigua poética [1596] 3 vols, ed. Alfredo Carballo Picazo (Madrid, 1953), I, 152 and 162-63. Compare Robert J. Clements: '[El Pinciano] consistently denies the proverbial charge of mendacity on the part of poets, justifying poetry as imitation', in 'López Pinciano's Philosophía Antigua Poética and the Spanish Contribution to Renaissance Literary Theory', HR XXIII (1955), 50.

(5) Juan Díaz Rengifo, Arte poética española (Madrid, 1606; dedication dated 1592), 3: all further references are to this edition. Compare the same writer describing 'aventuras, y patrañas portentosas' as 'mentiras, y sin moralidad, ni fruto ninguno'(5). Compare also Fray Juan de Pineda [1589]: 'Homero entre los Griegos poetas y Ovidio entre los Latinos son tenidos por sapientísimos, luego no son tenidos por mentirosos [...] Notad que fingir no es mentir', in Primera parte de los treinta y cinco diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana,

quoted by Otis H. Green in 'Fingen los poetas: Notes on the Spanish Attitude toward Pagan Mythology' in Estudios dedicados a Ramón Menéndez Pidal 5 vols (Madrid, 1950-54), I, 287.

(6) See, for example, Bernard Weinberg on Robortello's statements about the untruth ('mendacium' and 'mendacia') of fiction and poetry which leads to true conclusions; 'Robortello on the Poetics', in Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern, ed. R.S. Crane (Chicago, 1952), 325.

(7) Arte poética de Horacio (Madrid, 1768), 8.

(8) 'Silva de Frei Lope Félix de Vega Carpio' in Carducho, Diálogos, fol. 82^{r}.

(9) See, for example, Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa (1547-1610), 'Soneto al retrato del Licenciado Mosquera de Figueroa, pintado de mano de Mateo Pérez de Alecio' where the portrait is described as a 'burla': 'Con esta burla en medio de estas veras'(line 9), in Obras, vol. 1: Poesías inéditas, ed. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja (Madrid, 1955), 108. Compare Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera (1600-29), 'Al retrato de Pedro de Valencia (Coronista de su Majestad)': 'Habla en la docta imagen, q[ue] o me[n]ltida/ en su primera forma, o repetida/ finge la humanidad viviendo el lino'(lines 6-8), in Obras 2 vols, ed. Rafael de Balbín Lucas, I, 217. Compare also Francisco de Rioja (1583?-1659), 'A un pintor': 'y ¿podrá las palabras y el aliento/ mentir temple ingenioso de colores?'(lines 9-10), in BAE XXXII: Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII, ed. Adolfo de Castro, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1854), 377b.

(10) 'A la Apología por la Pintura, de don Juan de Butrón', in Juan de Butrón, Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del Arte de la Pintura (Madrid, 1626), commendatory verses preceding the text proper.

(11) Butrón, Discursos, fol. 22^{v}.

(12) 'El Pincel (Silva XXIV)', opening line: 'Tú, si en cuerpo pequeño', in Sánchez Cantón, Fuentes V, 446-48, especially 447.

(13) Tomaso Garzoni, 'De pittori, e miniatori, et lavoratori di mosaico: Discorsi XCI', in Opere (Venice, 1617), fol. 291^{r}.

(14) Suárez de Figueroa follows Garzoni in stating that 'en toda cosa son ilustres, y excelentes los pintores, excepto cuando pintan cosas lascivas, y deshonestas, como tal vez los Faunos acometiendo a las Ninfas, los Sátiros molestando a las Deas'(fol. 305^{v}). He then omits the following passage in Garzoni's version: 'overo

che depingono la Deità con figure inconvenienti, overo che figurano i Santi, & le Sante troppo lascivamente'(fol. 292[r]). There is evidence, perhaps, of his individual conservatism and/or a more general caution and conservatism in Spain at the time: such an idea was best not even mentioned.

(15) See A.A. Parker, explaining the ideas of a twelfth-century theologian: 'The Devil can deceive under the guise of good; he can induce a man to turn to what is good with an evil intention', in 'The meaning of discreción in No hay más fortuna que Dios: The medieval background and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage', 'Appendix' to his edition of Calderón's No hay más fortuna que Dios (Manchester, 1949), 81. Compare, for example, Pedro Hurtado de la Vera: 'El vicio, aparesce muchas veces sob[sic] specie o semejanza de virtud', Comedia intitulada Doleria (Antwerp, 1572), fol. 9[r].

(16) The weight of Covarrubias' disapproval is conveyed through his choice of words to condemn the use of make-up by women, who are said to be 'desmintiendo a la naturaleza' and 'queriendo salir con lo imposible'.

(17) Carlos García, La desordenada codicia de los bienes agenos [Paris, 1619] ed. G. Massano (Madrid, 1977), 188; Juan de Zabaleta, El día de la fiesta por la mañana [1654], quoted by James R. Stevens in 'The Costumbrismo and Ideas of Juan de Zabaleta', PMLA LXXXI (1966), 515.

(18) 'Introdución [sic]' to his Rimas [Seville, 1618] ed. Inmaculada Ferrer de Alba in Obras vol. 1 (Madrid: CC, 1973), 6. Compare Jusepe González de Salas on the consequences of overusing sentencias in the language of tragedy: 'Pierde la oración el decoro, y se convierte en una afeitada y femenil compostura', quoted in Edward C. Riley, 'The Dramatic Theories of Don Jusepe Antonio González de Salas', HR XIX (1951), 194.

(19) José de Valdivielso, 'A la Apología por la Pintura' (second line), in Butrón, Discursos, 1626. Francisco Aguado, 'Al Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor D. Agustín Espinola' [the dedication], third page, in Tomo primero del perfeto religioso (Madrid, 1629).

(20) Francisco de Monzón, 'Prólogo segundo' to his Libro primero del espejo del príncipe christiano (Lisbon, 1544), fol. 6[v].

(21) 'Al teatro de don Francisco López de Aguilar [ie. Lope], in La Dorotea [1632], ed. E.S. Morby (Madrid, 1980), 62. Morby offers two examples of 'verdad adornada' from Lope's writings, see his page 61, note 12.

(22) 'A una mujer que se afeitaba y estaba hermosa', from which I take the following extract: 'Pero tras eso confesaros quiero/ que es tanta la beldad de su mentira,/ que en vano a competir con ella aspira/ belleza igual de rostro verdadero./ Mas, ¿qué mucho que yo perdido ande/ por un engaño tal, pues que sabemos/ que nos engaña así Naturaleza?'(lines 5-11), in Poesía de la Edad de Oro 2 vols, ed. J.M. Blecua (Madrid, 1984), II, 82. Compare a nearly contemporary poem, 'Art above Nature. To Julia', by Robert Herrick, on a similar theme: 'Then, when I see thy tresses bound/ into an oval, square, or round;/ and knit in knots far more then [ie. than] I/ can tell by tongue, or true love tie/ [...] I must confesse, mine eye and heart/ dotes less on nature then [ie. than] on art', in Works 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1823), I, 285. Compare the poem, 'Painting sometimes permitted', also by Herrick: 'If Nature do deny/ colours, let Art supply', Works, II, 35.

(23) 'Mas que el abril a ese jardín has dado,/ inmortal es por ti la flor más breve,/ y hoy en virtud de tu pincel se atreve a ser más que lo vivo lo pintado./ Tanto el traslado excede en tu cuidado,/ del bello original la pompa leve,/ que en fe de los aumentos que te debe/ borra el original tanto traslado', in Varias poesías sagradas y profanas ed. Manuela Sánchez Regueira (Madrid, 1968), 393.

(24) In his introduction to his edition of Poesía de la Edad de Oro 2 vols (Madrid, 1984), II, 12 (quoting Gracián).

(25) Pedro Hurtado de la Vera, Comedia intitulada Doleria (Antwerp, 1572), fol. 9^{r}. Compare the anonymous Tragaedia Jezabelis (1565-75?) where the 'chorus' rails against Jezabel's false beauty: '[¿]Sus afeites, sus colores, sus galas en esto pararon? [...] Tu barniz y afeite [...] tu nariz tan afilada contrahecha', in Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas ed. Nigel Griffin (University of Exeter, 1976), 159-61.

(26) See, for example, Lucy Gent: 'Counterfeit is often used instead of portrait (even by Shakespeare), a good example of how art in England was liable to come under attack by the moralist, since counterfeit inevitably carried associations of false and deceptive', in Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance (Leamington Spa, 1981), 14. Compare the comments by W. Moelwyn Merchant on the linguistic ambiguity surrounding 'faire Portia's counterfeit' in The Merchant of Venice, in Shakespeare and the Artist (London, 1959), 10-11.

(27) See E.J. Webber, 'The literary reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Pre-Renaissance Spain', in HR XXIV (1956), 191-205, especially 201.

(28) Fray José de Sigüenza, Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo [1600-05], in Sánchez Cantón, Fuentes I, 319-482: this reference, 389. There are also excerpts of Sigüenza's Historia in Francisco Calvo Serraller, Teoría de la pintura del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1981), 109-143, this reference, 119. Andrés Rey de Artieda, 'Epístola al Ilustrísimo señor Marqués de Cuéllar, sobre la comedia', in Discursos, epístolas y epigramas de Artemidoro (Saragossa, 1605), fols 87ʳ-91ᵛ; this reference, fol. 89ʳ). Compare Covarrubias' definition of retrato: 'La figura contrahecha de alguna persona', and of remedar: 'Contrahacer una cosa con otra que le sea semejante'. He also lists contrahacer as a synonym of imitar.

(29) See D.P. Simpson, Cassell's New Latin-English, English-Latin Dictionary (London, 1969: 1st edn, 1959), 116, under color. The noun socolor was also developed, as in the following example by Gutiérrez de los Ríos: 'Y quitemos todos los socolores que se han querido tomar para este atrevimiento', Noticia general (1600), 112-13; the meaning is evidently pejorative. Compare Antonio de Solís: 'Allá en la Edad más hidalga,/ de Amantes era interés/ tu color [ie. verde]:/ mas ya no hay color, que valga;/ todo, en las mujeres, es/ socolor.'(Varias poesías, ed. M. Sánchez Regueira, Madrid, 1968, 241).

(30) Diego de Yepes, Discursos de varia historia (Toledo, 1592), fol. 18ʳ, column 2; Carlos García, La desordenada codicia, ed. cit., 122; La vida y fábulas del fabulador Ysopo (Antwerp, 1550?), fol. 66ʳ.

(31) Miguel Giginta, Tratado de remedio de pobres, compuesto en diálogo (Coimbra, 1579), fol. 103ʳ.

(32) Juan de Jauregui, El retraído [printed in 1635], in José Jordán de Urríes y Azara, Bibliografía y estudio crítico de Jauregui (Madrid, 1899), 181.

(33) Antonio López de Vega: 'Pero querer ampliar esta licencia a introducción de vocablos extranjeros, a transposiciones y coloración meramente poética, es hacerse insolente con la permisión, y ultrajar la propia lengua en el sitio más conveniente para honrarla', in his 'Respuesta' preceding El cuerdo amante by Miguel Moreno, in Novelas de Miguel Moreno y del Alférez Baltasar Mateo Velázquez ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1906), 10.

(34) 'Aprobación de D. Lorenzo Vander Hamen y León, de las obras de Francisco de la Torre', dated 1629, in Francisco de la Torre, Poesías, ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente (Madrid: CC, 1944), liii.

(35) Luis Milán, Libro intitulado el Cortesano (Valencia, 1561), fol. 218ᵛ.

(36) Lucy Gent, Picture and Poetry, 3.

(37) Francisco Barreda, Invectiva a las comedias que prohibió Trajano y apología por las nuestras, in F. Sánchez Escribano and A. Porqueras Mayo (editors), Preceptiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco (Madrid, 1965) 191-201, this reference: 193.

(38) M.H. Abrams, referring to the resilient anecdote of Zeuxis' composite image of Juno, in The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition (New York, 1958: first published, Oxford, 1953), 37.

(39) Gonzalo Argote de Molina, 'Descrición [sic] del bosque y Casa Real del Pardo', Cap. xlvii in Discurso sobre la montería [Seville, 1582], ed. José Gutiérrez de la Vega (Madrid, 1882), 104-108. Sigüenza, Historia: all references are to the excerpts in Calvo Serraller, Teoría de la pintura, 1981), 109-143; Pablo de Céspedes, Discurso de la comparación de la antigua y moderna pintura y escultura and his Poema de la pintura also in Calvo Serraller (1981), 93-108; Suárez de Figueroa, Plaza universal, 1615 edition, and Garzoni, Piazza universale, in Opere, 1617 edition (see note 1 of this chapter).

(40) Cervantes, El licenciado Vidriera, in Novelas ejemplares 2 vols, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid: CC, 1969), II, 49.

(41) Antonio de Solís, 'Retrato de Flora. Romance' (first line: 'Aquí de Apeles, aquí'), in Varias poesías, 1968, 161-164, especially 164.

(42) Sources are as follows (from Fuentes, V, unless stated otherwise)... 1555: Pedro Mejía, 'el que en este arte [la pintura] hubiere de ser perfecto [...] ha de hacer tan perfetas las imágines, que la vista se engañe en conocer la diferencia de lo cierto a lo pintado'(330); 1572: El Maestro Juan López de Hoyos, 'este retrato de su Majestad era muy al vivo'(342); 1573: Benito Arias Montano, 'El retrato del señor don Luis vino bien tratado; es muy bien hecho y seméjale mucho'(346); 1596: Juan Rufo, 'para que el retrato parezca vivo'(368, cf. 387); 1590s: Luis de Zapata, 'imágenes de personas [..] que parece que hablan'(363); 1604: all three references from Pablo de Céspedes, Discurso, in J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, Diccionario histórico (Madrid, 1800), V, 269-352, especially 279, 302 and 311; the excerpts in Calvo Serraller, Teoría, contain only the first two references (94 and 98).

(43) Ambrosio de Morales, in Fuentes, V, 349; Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa, in Fuentes, V, 367; Pablo de Céspedes, in Ceán Bermúdez, 310 (not in Calvo Serraller).

(44) Juan Calvete de Estrella, in Fuentes, V, 332.

(45) Baldassare Castiglione, El cortesano, trans. Juan Boscán, ed. Mario Pozzi (Madrid, 1994), 198. Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la pintura 2 vols, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, 1956), I, 6; all further references are to this edition.

(46) Juan Vives, in Fuentes, V, 329.

(47) Felipe de Guevara, Comentarios de la pintura, in Fuentes, I, 14; also in the edition by Rafael Benet (Barcelona, 1948), 97-98; all future references to the Comentarios are to the 1948 edition.

(48) Juan Pérez de Moya, in Fuentes, V, 356.

(49) Francisco Jerónimo Collado, Fuentes, V, 370.

(50) Discursos apologéticos, 1626, fol. 104^{r-v}. In this context, compare the following statement by Luis Carrillo de Sotomayor: 'No le es dado al vulgo juzgar derechamente de la virtud perfecta de una cosa, y todo aquello que fuere perfecto, [...] Porque el vulgo no de todo entiende lo que falta de su perfeción. Pone el ejemplo muy a medida de mi propósito: lo que en los Poemas, y pinturas acontece, deleitarse los indoctos, y alabar, lo que no merecía alabarse'(Libro de la erudición poética, ed. Manuel Cardenal Iracheta, Madrid, 1946, 104; quoted by Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano y las teorías literarias del Siglo de Oro, Madrid: Gredos, 1970, 192). Carrillo y Sotomayor asserts that poems should be '[no] sólo miradas, sino remiradas de todo punto, ni de la puerta vistas, sino hasta lo más escondido, y íntima y más amistad'(Libro, 94-95; quoted by Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, 193).

(51) Pablo de Céspedes, Discurso, in Calvo Serraller, Teoría, 96.

(52) Juan de Piña, Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada [1628], ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1907), 45.

(53) Fray José de Sigüenza, Historia, in Calvo Serraller, Teoría, 121.

(54) Jonathan Brown, Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting (Princeton, 1978), 17. For more on the patronage and picture collections of the period, see J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain: 1469-1716 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), 318, and Juan José Martín González, El artista en la sociedad española del siglo XVII (Madrid, 1984), 171-194. Compare also Nigel Glendinning's useful

comments in 'Spanish Painting in the Golden Age': The Twenty-second Annual Lecture delivered at Canning House, printed in booklet form, London, 1977.

(55) Descrición, 1882 edition, 104 and 107. He does describe Titian as 'pintor el más excelente de su tiempo'(107).

(56) Mark Roskill, Dolce's «Aretino» and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento (New York, 1968), 116, 120, 178 and 186.

(57) All references to excerpts in Calvo Serraller, Teoría.

(58) For Pacheco's comments, see Julián Gállego, Velázquez (Madrid, 1994), 15; for Gracián's comments, see El héroe, 'Primor VII' (Madrid: Austral, 1980), 23, also quoted for comparison by José Carlos de Torres in his edition of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's República literaria (Barcelona, 1985), 78: note 54.

(59) See BAE XLIX, Dramáticos posteriores a Lope, II, 371.

(60) Prologue to Neapolisea, in A. Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo en el Manierismo y Barroco españoles (Madrid, 1968), 204.

(61) Idea de la comedia de Castilla, in José Sánchez, Academias literarias del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1961), 88.

(62) For Cervantes' well-known prologue see, for example, Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 147. For Bances' version, see Theatro de los theatros ed. Duncan W. Moir (London, 1970), 28.

(63) The Book of the Courtier, trans. G. Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 78.

(64) El scholástico ed. Richard J. A. Kerr, 2 vols (Madrid, 1967), I, 7. Compare, for example, the sixth chapter (or 'canto') of Villalón's book El crotalón (c.1553), where the author describes the victories of Charles the Fifth 'por industria de una admirable pintura', and refers twice to the primor of art and painting (see edition by Augusto Cortina, Madrid: Austral, 1973, 96).

(65) 'Soneto de don Alonso Girón y de Rebolledo', in Gaspar Gil Polo, Diana enamorada ed. Francisco López Estrada (Madrid: Castalia, 1988), 85; Farsa del sacramento del entendimiento niño, in BAE LVIII: Autos sacramentales ed. Eduardo González Pedroso (Madrid, 1952), 46a.

(66) Empresas políticas ed. Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga (Barcelona, 1988), 26.

(67) Gregorio de Andrés (ed), 'Relación anónima del siglo XVII sobre los cuadros de El Escorial', in Archivo Español de Arte XLIV (1971), 49-64.

(68) Alonso Castillo Solórzano, Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza [pub. 1637], ed. J. Joset (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986), 77 and 288; La Garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de bolsas [pub. 1642], ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: CC, 1957), 112; Sala de recreación [published posthumously in 1649], ed. R.F. Glenn and F.G. Very: Estudios de Hispanófila, no. 43 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977), 45.

(69) Alonso López Pinciano, Philosophía antigua poética, ed. Carballo Picazo, I, 74. José Pellicer y Tovar, prologue to Obras de Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, in Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 270.

(70) For example, Juan de Arphe: 'Vemos cada día que algunos sin estudio dan a las figuras tanta esbelteza y gracia, que otros con mucho trabajo no pueden acertar por qué camino lo saben', in De varia commensuración para la esculptura y architectura (Seville, 1585), 'A los letores'[sic]. Leslie Hotson translates the Italian 'sveltezza' as 'light grace': see Shakespeare by Hilliard: A Portrait Deciphered (London, 1977), 98. Dolce criticizes a painter for 'troppa sveltezza' or 'excessive slimness', see Roskill (1968), 204. For 'presteza', see Sigüenza in Calvo Serraller, Teoría, 126 and 136.

(71) Roskill, 18 and 49.

(72) Discurso, in Calvo Serraller, Teoría, 99.

(73) On Caravaggio's influence see, for example, Julián Gállego, Velázquez (Madrid, 1994), 18-19. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez refers to 'el avasallador influjo de Caravaggio' in Ribera (Madrid, 1994), 19.

(74) Horace: 'Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto/ et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto'(Ars Poetica, lines 99-100); in the English version by T.S. Dorsch: 'It is not enough that poems should have beauty; if they are to carry the audience with them, they must have charm as well'(82). See Roskill, Dolce's «Aretino», 45, for discussion of the impact of this literary precept on Dolce's art theory.

(75) 'Soneto de Jerónimo Samper', in Diana enamorada, ed. López Estrada (1988), 85; Gonzalo Argote de Molina, Discurso sobre la poesía castellana, ed. E.F. Tiscornia (Madrid, 1926), 44; Fernando de Herrera, Poesía y poética, ed. Manuel Angel Vázquez (Madrid, 1983), 146: 'El soneto'.

(76) In Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 268.

(77) See, for example, R.O. Jones: 'Though culteranismo and agudeza became the dominant modes of seventeenth-century poetry, there were so many exceptions that a history cannot be reduced to a clear-cut pattern', A Literary History of Spain: The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry (London and New York, 1971), 148. Distinct styles quite clearly co-existed, and (just as importantly) were perceived as co-existing, in painting as well.

(78) Cervantes, 'Prólogo' to Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses [1615], and Quevedo, prologue to Comedia Eufrosina [1631], in A. Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 148 and 151. Compare Carducho on the works of poets and dramatists (including Ruiz de Alarcón, Calderón and Gaspar de Avila): 'Mira sus obras, que con levantados y dulces pinceles nos van dando cada día pinturas vivas con plumas de Virgilio'(Diálogos, fol. 61^{r-v}).

(79) Anthony Blunt, Artistic Theory in Italy: 1450-1600 (Oxford, 1975; 1st OUP edn, 1962; first published in 1940), 93-94.

(80) Gio. Batista Armenino, Dei veri precetti della pittura [1587] (Pisa, 1823), 18 and 97.

(81) Rimas ed. Inmaculada Ferrer de Alba (Madrid: CC, 1973), 6.

(82) Prologue to Los amantes [c.1578], quoted in John G. Weiger, 'La conciencia de la nueva orientación teatral de fines del Siglo XVI vista a través de la obra de Artieda', Hispania LXVIII (1985), 16. Corominas (although not mentioning garbado) has a useful entry on garbo, which he describes as 'una palabra muy tardía en castellano', not used after 1575 (Argote de Molina) until 1625, translated from Italian until that date as 'forma y talle', 'gracia', 'elegancia' and 'postura'.

(83) Armenino, Dei veri precetti (1823), 41.

(84) Giuseppe Cantamessa and Giuseppe Messina, Dizionario della lingua italiana (Milan, 1966), 555.

(85) Juan de Jaureguí, untitled discourse on painting (Madrid, c.1625), fol. 17^{r-v}. Also in Carducho, Diálogos, 1633, fol. 199^{v}.

(86) José de Valdivielso, 'En gracia del arte noble de la pintura', appended to Carducho, Diálogos, fol. 180^{r}.

(87) Gonzalo Argote de Molina, Discurso, ed. Tiscornia (1926), 28; Fernando de Herrera, Poesía y Poética, ed. Manuel Angel Vázquez (1983), 148.

(88) Prologue to Pantaleón's Obras, quoted in Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 266.

(89) See text in Calvo Serraller, Teoría (1981), 151-57.

(90) Text also in Calvo Serraller, 165-77.

(91) La Garduña de Sevilla, ed. Ruiz Morcuende, 216.

(92) George Watson, The Literary Critics (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973; first published in 1962), 26-27.

(93) E.H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion (London, 1993: first published in 1960), 22; Gent, Picture and Poetry, 1.

(94) Esteban García Chico, 'Nuevos documentos para el estudio del arte en Castilla. Siglo XVI. Escultores', in Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología de Valladolid, XXIV (1958), 73-172, this reference, 168.

(95) A summary of some points made by Robert Enggass in relation to the art theory of Giovanni Pietro Bellori, with statements made by Bellori himself, in Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, ed. H.W. Janson: Italy and Spain, trans. Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970), 5-16.

(96) Juan José Martín González, 'Vicente Carducho, pintor de religiosidad hispánica (a propósito de su obra vallisoletana)', in Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología de Valladolid, XXV (1959), 5-15, especially 6.

(97) Jonathan Brown, Images and Ideas (1978), 17-18.

(98) Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, El caballero perfecto (Madrid, 1620), fol. 2ᵛ.

(99) El cortesano descortés (Madrid, 1621), 'Al vulgo'.

(100) Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza, ed. Joset (1986), 59.

(101) Epítome de la vida, y hechos del ínclito Rey don Pedro de Aragón, tercero (Saragossa, 1639), 1 and 224. Covarrubias (1611) does not include the word asunto, reinforcing the argument that it was a new coinage; Corominas does not discuss it, while Martín Alonso (also giving the Quijote as his earliest reference), concludes, interestingly, that asunto did not come to mean 'lo que se representa en una composición pictórica o escultórica' until the eighteenth century: Carducho's complaints about lowlife as an asunto for a painter indicate a much earlier application, matching its literary context. This is confirmed by Juan de Piña's 1628 reference to 'el incendio y asunto del pincel' in a picture (Casos prodigiosos, 1907 edition, 48).

(102) Martín de Carvallo Villas Boas, Volumen primero del espejo de príncipes y ministros (Milan, 1598), 43.

(103) Untitled discourse on painting, c.1625, fol. 8r. Also in Carducho, Diálogos, 1633, fol. 193v.

(104) Dolce: 'E vero, che alcuni Pittori danno alla loro ignoranza nome di delicatezza', in Roskill, Dolce's «Aretino» (1968), 143.

(105) '«Pintura»: Background and Sketch of a Spanish Seventeenth-Century Court Genre', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXXVIII (1975), 290; Davies is applying a comment by John Pope-Hennessey on Hilliard to Spanish court portraiture.

(106) Introduction to the catalogue for the Royal Academy Exhibition: 'The Golden Age of Spanish Painting'(1976), 15.

(107) Reproduced, for example, in August L. Mayer, Historia de la pintura española (Madrid, 1928), 212, fig. 183.

(108) Two examples: Antonio Agustín, Diálogos de medallas (Tarragona, 1587), which contains an impressive portrait of the author, and Juan de Arphe, De varia commensuración (Seville, 1585), which is prefaced by a distinctive profile portrait, also of the author.

(109) Luis Milán, Libro intitulado el Cortesano (Valencia, 1561), fols 213v-214r.

(110) Comedia llamada Florinea (Medina del Campo, 1554), 'Proemio'.

(111) Tragedia muy sentida y graciosa llamada la madre Claudina (Toledo, 1548), 'Al lector'. The phrase 'debajo de algún color ridículo' is also used to explain the Tragedia Policiana (Toledo, 1549), which may also have been written by Fernández (see Newels, Los géneros, 128: note 10).

(112) Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia (Madrid, 1872), 'Prólogo al discreto lector'. All references are to this edition.

(113) Francisco Farfán, Regimiento de castos: y remedio de torpes (Salamanca, 1590), Dedication to 'García de Loaysa, maestro del príncipe don Philippe [sic] nuestro señor', sixth and seventh of unnumbered pages.

(114) Francisco Cascales, Tablas poéticas [pub. 1617], ed. B. Brancaforte (Madrid: CC, 1975), 77; all references are to this edition.

Chapter 2: part one. Retrato, pintura and espejo as literary metaphors in the period 1520 - 1560.

The history of comparisons between the sister arts of painting and poetry has been examined in detailed studies by Jean Hagstrum and R.W. Lee.[1] While deeply indebted to their valuable research and to the work of others too, I propose to explore an area which has been largely ignored and which I believe deserves and repays closer investigation. By examining the dominant Spanish literary metaphors of sixteenth-century I hope to trace a shift in emphasis which had a significant impact on the way drama and fiction were viewed and explained to the public in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

My starting point is the first book in Spanish that is called a portrait by its author: Francisco Delicado's Retrato de la Lozana andaluza (Venice, 1528).[2] On the title page the author (or perhaps the printer) explains that the book portrays more than the life of one individual, while at the same time indicating the source of its inspiration: 'El cual Retrato demuestra lo que en Roma pasaba y contiene munchas[sic] más cosas que la Celestina'. Bruno Damiani has made the point that Delicado's intention was to paint the woman and her 'ambiente'(20); the action springs from, and centres on, Lozana herself. Having chosen his title, Delicado introduces into his dedication and prologue a series of (sometimes punning) references to the process of painting a portrait, as when he suggests that his portrait, like every

other portrait, requires the prestigious varnish of patronage: 'todo retrato tiene necesidad de barniz'(34). As early as the dedication the author introduces the other key metaphor of his work and of much literature that preceded and followed it - the mirror:

> por traer a la memoria munchas cosas que en nuestros tiempos pasan, que no son laude [ie. alabanza] a los presentes ni espejo a los a venir.(34)

So the portrait is not pretty to behold and certainly not a model for future generations; Delicado claims to have mixed truth with entertainment ('mezclar natura con bemol [ie. dulzura]') and implies that the wise reader will take out the best from among the flowers on offer (34). The author still has not explained the moral purpose of his <u>retrato</u>, and suggests twice in the prologue that full enjoyment and appreciation of the portrait will be granted only to those who finish reading it. Quoting Seneca, he rejects eloquence in favour of truth: 'para decir la verdad poca elocuencia basta'(35), and stresses that his portrait is the result of detailed observation: 'retraje [ie. retraté] lo que vi que se debría [<u>sic</u>] retraer'(35). This is reinforced by his comparison between his work and the aims of portrait painters who 'cuando hacen un retrato procuran sacallo del natural'(35); this involves the process of constant cross-reference with the model, heeding the criticism of others but ammending the image more on the basis of personal observation. In making a portrait which is 'tan natural', this is precisely what Delicado insists that he has done:

> Yo he trabajado de no escrebir cosa que primero no sacase en mi dechado la labor, mirando en ella o a ella. Y viendo, vi muncho mejor que yo ni otro podrá escrebir.(36)

With the assurance that he could not have painted his portrait any better ('no le pude dar mejor matiz') the author promises his readers again that 'lo que al principio falta se hallará al fin'(36).

The text, which probably predates the prologue, includes the author as one of the characters who witnesses events and talks to the other characters. At one stage, using a device which anticipates the mischief of Cervantes and Unamuno, Delicado has one of his characters see the notebook he has just used to write the previous chapter, and then almost immediately his role as observer is implicit in his polite refusal of an invitation from Lozana herself:

> Ya veo que os envía ella, yo no quiero ir porque dicen después que no hago sino mirar y notar lo que pasa, para screbir[sic] después, y que saco dechados [ie. que pinto del natural, con modelo: editor's note].(88-89)

Here the author lets us see for ourselves the close observation of his model which has made his portrait so accurate. At the close of the Lozana's story he once again emphasizes the same point: 'Fenezca la historia compuesta en retrato, el más natural que el autor pudo'(245).

As to Delicado's motives for producing his book, there is not much before the various appendices to provide any clues. Scholars have speculated that he intended to disgust the reader by presenting a detailed picture of sexual vice; another suggests that Delicado had a soft spot for the society of rogues and wrote 'por placer del espíritu'; indeed, Damiani

refers to his 'carácter sensual y libertino' and his 'vida licenciosa' which earned him a dose of the pox.[3] While Damiani sees 'una tesis, una intención moral debajo de la apariencias'(13), Wardropper has concluded that the writer 'no tiene ningún afán moralizador [...] Su credo artístico es la verdad, no la belleza.'[4] It is not surprising that, as a member of the clergy, he chose to publish anonymously a work where there is little that is morally or religiously edifying, and far more relish than criticism of the vice on display; that is, until one reaches the six appendices. We are now told that the author intended to 'reprehender' Lozana and her cronies, but the 'apología' is charged with irony and ambiguity. Delicado assures us that the virtues found in 'claras mujeres', but not in Lozana, 'serían espejo a quien las oyese contar'(247), echoing the earlier use of the same metaphor: the retrato shows the reality of life while the espejo denotes the exemplary archetype, the model to which one aspires. The 'epílogo' was composed four years after the main text, and bears all the hallmarks of an afterthought; the Rome of Lozana has now been sacked, and Delicado makes the city into a justly-punished Babylon:

> ¡Oh, vosotros que vernés tras los castigados, mirá este retrato de Roma, y nadie o ninguno sea causa que se haga otro!(253)

Having in his prologues insisted that nobody should meddle with his portrait ('que ninguno añada ni quite': 36), the author now requests the contrary: 'Ruego a quien tomare este retrato que lo enmiende antes que vaya en público'(254). However, now he is not talking about making it more accurate,

but more acceptable; after all, the reality he portrayed has now changed for ever. He returns to his earlier notion of a portrait that can be improved in the light of criticism and observation (35), but this time there is much more deference to the critics:

> Mas no siendo obra, sino retrato, cada día queda facultad para borrar y tornar a perfilarlo, según lo que cada uno mejor verá.(254)

In a closing letter, Delicado tells how poverty drove him to publish his portrait, which he now summarizes as 'cosas ridiculosas'(260), and commends his book to his readers and himself to God: 'Spero en el Señor eterno que será <u>verdaderamente</u> retrato para mis prójimos, a los cuales m'encomiendo'(260).

For my purposes the most interesting aspect of this book is the distinction which Delicado draws between <u>retrato</u> and <u>espejo</u>, a distinction already present in the prologues and closing verses which Proaza added to <u>La Celestina</u>, where by implication Rojas is said to have sketched or painted his subject:

> No <u>debujó</u> la cómica mano
> de Nevio ni Plauto, varones prudentes,
> tan bien los engaños de falsos sirvientes
> y malas mujeres en metro romano,
> Cratino y Menandro y Magnes anciano
> esta materia supieron apenas
> <u>pintar</u> en estilo primero de Athenas,
> como este poeta en su castellano.[5]

When Proaza wants to underline the moral purpose of this sketch by Rojas he abandons the portrait metaphor for the mirror; the book contains 'avisos é consejos' together with 'sentencias [...] <u>so color de</u> donaires'(I, 6-7), and there are important lessons for the reader:

> Vos, los que amáis, tomad este <u>enxemplo</u>
> [...]
> O damas, matronas, mancebos, casados,
> notad bien la vida que aquéstos hicieron,
> tened por <u>espejo</u> su fin cual obieron.(I, 13)

Why not a <u>mirror</u> of actual events which serves directly (or, as in this case, indirectly) as a <u>portrait</u> of ideal moral standards? One reason might be that for Proaza and Delicado the connotations of the <u>espejo</u> metaphor negate the creative effort and skill (what Delicado calls <u>labor</u>) of the artist and point to the sublime in a way which is inappropriate in the context of lowlife action. At the same time one does not portray moral archetypes, one portrays people, and so <u>retrato</u> is best employed in a specific rather than an abstract context. Delicado is not the only imitator in the <u>Retrato</u>: besides showing himself at work, while others observe him or, in the case of Lozana herself, marvel at the lifelike quality of his copying ('contrahacer': 186-87), Delicado presents Lozana herself as an imitator or collector of likenesses: 'sacaba dechados de cada mujer y hombre, y quería saber su vivir'(114); he also introduces a page whom Lozana scolds for doing an impression of her in a play: 'me contrahicistes en la comedia de carnaval'(132). In this way Delicado hints not only at portraiture, but at portraits within portraits: he is copying ('contrahacer') people who copy other people.

The mirror at that time, and afterwards, was a favourite metaphor for books of an exemplary or devotional nature: for example, around 1520 Pedro Verague chose the title <u>Espejo de dotrina</u> for a work which was intended to show sinners the way to salvation.[6] Already in the fifteenth century Fray Lope

Fernández de Minaya had described man's conscience as the 'espejo del alma' of his book's title.[7] Juan Bautista de Viñones explains his choice of title for a moral work, printed in Seville in 1531:

> Aquí comienza un libro llamado Espejo de la conciencia en que trata de todos los estados: y convenientemente es llamado espejo: porque el espejo es claro: y es ordenado para que sea vista en él cualquier mancilla corporal que en la haz obiere[sic].('prólogo', fol. 4v)

Similarly, Juan de Dueñas explains why he chose the mirror metaphor for his book, Espejo de consolación de tristes (c.1560):

> Es puesto este libro delante de los ojos de los que tribulación padecen para que en él se miren. El cual es dicho Espejo de consolación de tristes. Porque según dice sant Gregorio: La sagrada escriptura es como un espejo el cual es puesto delante de los ojos de nuestra ánima para que en ella sea visto nuestro rostro interior. Así este libro es dicho Espejo, porque así como el Espejo sirve de dos cosas, de quitar y poner, de quitar mancillas y de poner nuevos matices y colores. Así mirándose en este libro, se quiten las mancillas de los vicios y pecados, [...] y se pongan en el ánima nuevos matices y colores de virtudes.[8]

Along similar lines, Francisco de Monzón explains both his intentions and his choice of mirror metaphor in his Libro primero d'l [sic] espejo del príncipe christiano (pub. 1544):

> Mi intención fue hacer un espejo de un perfecto príncipe christiano [...] Llamé a estos libros espejos: porque pretendí hacer con ellos lo que hacía Socrates con los espejos materiales: que mandaba a sus discípulos que se mirasen a un espejo: y aconsejábales que si conociesen que tenían hermosos rostros: que trabajasen por hacer más hermosa la alma con virtudes, pues era parte más principal: [...] Así deseo: que los que leyeren estos libros cotejen sus obras con las que les dicen que son obligados a hacer: [...] y si conocieren que les falta alguna, trabajen por guardar las reglas de su estado que aquí le[s] enseñan para enmendar su vida.[9]

The puristic connotations of the mirror metaphor are reinforced here by key words like perfecto, virtudes and

enmendar. Monzón clearly saw his own choice of the mirror metaphor as part of a tradition since he goes on to explain that both St. Augustine and St. Bernard composed books called espejos (fol. 6ᵛ). On the last page of the book he suggests that the current king of Portugal should serve as a model of perfection: 'es razón que las [ie. sus obras] tomasen por enjemplo y dechado todos los príncipes cristianos'(fol. 191ʳ). The grouping of the three metaphors espejo, ejemplo and dechado is a recurrent feature of sixteenth-century literature that sets out or implies ideal standards of conduct. The case of painting metaphors is less clearcut.

Juan de Padilla (1468-1522?), in his Retablo de la vida de Christo (1513), draws an important distinction between two types of literary painting, the painting of holy truth and the painting of harmful lies:

> Pero debemos notar una cosa
> que en una manera se pinta la dama/
> en otra la sancta matrona que ama
> la pudicicia [sic] por ser virtuosa.
> En una manera maguer deleitosa
> se pinta la grande mentira dañada/
> en otra la sancta verdad aprobada
> honesta la una/ la otra ventosa [ie. vana].[10]

Padilla does not condemn all 'vanos poemas', but does insist that we must take from them only what is 'sano'; he regrets his own youthful indulgence in the painting of 'ficciones':

> Deja, por ende, las falsas ficciones [...]
> sus fábulas falsas y sus opiniones
> pintamos [ie. 'we painted'] en tiempo de la juventud,
> agora mirando la suma virtud
> conozco que matan a los corazones.[11]

For Padilla the verb pintar covers the portrayal of the divine as well as the sinful, but they are to be 'painted' in very different ways.

For Cristóbal de Villalón, too, the notion of the literary painting is quite compatible with the presentation of both reality and the ideal. He sees his book El scholástico (written around 1528) as 'alta pintura' and as an 'imagen de muy clara virtud'.[12] The prologue is full of allusions to Pliny's stories of Alexander and Apelles, which are used to illustrate the main themes set out in it: that Villalón hesitated at the prospect of attempting to 'paint' the majesty of Salamanca university at its zenith, that he often wondered whether he would be able to complete the image, and that he invites criticism from those who are qualified to judge. So it was that Alexander considered Apelles the most able painter to portray him, though even that painter was occasionally intimidated by such an awesome undertaking. In his temerity, Villalón will be guided by the example of Plato:

> Es nuestra intención pintar aquí una scolástica universidad o académica república o escuela de letras, en imitación de la república cevil que debujó Platón. ¿Con cuánta mayor razón me ternán a mí por loco atrevido por poner la mano en tan alta pintura, presumiendo sacar el retrato natural de la mesma naturaleza en sí?(5)

The notion of the 'painting' operates here at several different levels: Villalón will portray a 'bienaventurada universidad [...] adornada de hombres singulares que yo puedo mostrar escribiendo'(11) - that is, real people in a real environment; these people, however, are shown discussing the attributes of a 'perfecto scolástico'(163), and so the writer is painting an ideal portrait. But at the same time, the real people who are presented are themselves models for the perfect scholar, in the perfect university, in much the same way that Castiglione makes the imperfect court of Urbino into a model

for all time in what he, too, calls a portrait with himself as its 'worthless painter' (in Boscán's version:, 'pintor muy bajo y mal diestro').[13] In every way Villalón is portraying ideals:

> porque mirándola los sabios como a imagen de muy clara virtud la juzgasen digna de imitación o de quererla remedar [ie. copiar].(11)

Future generations can learn lessons from his account of the 'gloriosos varones' at 'nuestra dichosa universidad': 'y como de dechado/ muestra y nivel tomen ejemplo para vivir en gloria y augmento de sus costumbres y saber'(232). Unlike Delicado, Villalón does not sustain the painting metaphor which he so extensively explores in the prologue, and the verb pintar soon gives way to less pictorial synonyms like espremir, mostrar, narrar and escrebir, while the work is referred to as an escriptura. One is left to speculate about his choice of the painting and portrait metaphors. His retrato natural is of real people and the exemplary nature of the subject makes it not just pintura but alta pintura. The influence of Castiglione's 'portrait' cannot be discarded: the two books were contemporaneous. The notion of alta pintura could be seen as evidence of some kind of linguistic shift in meaning: that is, that pintura might need the qualifying adjective when applied to exemplary images, since, as Padilla says, there are different manners of painting. The following example from 1546 is open to interpretation along the same lines:

> No quiero escrebir / los hados troyanos
> no las batallas / de Julio ponpeo [sic]
> no el dolo y engaño / muy justo ulixeo
> no hechos sonados / de nobles romanos [;]
> mi intento es pintar / los justos y humanos
> y por el contrario / los que con nequicia [ie. maldad]

> corrompen la sancta / muy sacra justicia
> como perversos / inicuos / tiranos.[14]

Here escrebir and pintar may be no more than synonyms chosen at random; on the other hand the writer may be drawing a distinction between the writing of the great deeds of ancient history and the painting of human and, in particular, evil human behaviour. The first verb is operating in the province of cantar - a favourite metaphor for epic verse - while the second is more closely aligned to Delicado's retrato.

The influence of La Celestina on subsequent popular literature was profound and Proaza's comments on it, as I have already suggested, also had an impact on later writers, particularly imitators of the great work. Some commendatory verses in de Silva's Segunda comedia de Celestina of 1536 take up Proaza's praise for the writer's skill, couched once again in painting terms:

> Si obra se halla de grande primor
> es cosa cierta tener ya por uso
> loar por ella al que la compuso
> como en pintura loar el [sic] pintor.[15]

By implication at least de Silva's book is a painting of some quality (and, by extension, accuracy) for which he, like Delicado and Rojas, deserves an artist's credit. For writers this metaphor of the painter's artistry assumes considerable importance in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and I shall return to the topic in a later chapter.

Juan de Junta's interesting prologue to another book inspired by La Celestina, Lisandro y Roselia (1542) has already been mentioned.[16] Junta discusses the persuasive power of the poetic 'ficción' in terms of colour and line:

> Es, pues, grande la fuerza de la ficción para persuadir, así como hace mucho más el color que sola la raya para que una imagen humana parezca más clara. La semejanza de la verdad mezclada con ficciones hace atónitos en alguna manera y engaña aquellos que la oyen.(x)

Here again, the book is being compared implicitly with artistic and not rhetorical portraiture; in a letter by Junta which was appended to the text the emphasis seems to have moved towards rhetorical 'painting':

> Gran consuelo recibí leyéndola, y gran edificación para el ánima notando la manera de su proceder, y con cuánto ingenio y sotil elocuencia pinta las cosas que más a pecar nos atraen.(285)

When he wants to underline the moral value of the work he incorporates the standard metaphor of the period:

> De suerte que, como en espejo claro, podamos ver por esta pequeña muestra que de su juicio nos quiso dar, de qué peligros apartemos nuestros sentidos, y a quién fiemos las personas más, y con quién comuniquemos nuestros secretos, y en qué distribuyamos las haciendas.(285)

The linking of espejo and claro became a metaphorical cliché (see below) which reinforced its value as a means to explain the purpose of imitation, but which eventually disqualified it from describing the process of imitation. The adjective claro could also be transferred to the related concept of the dechado, a metaphor which shared the fate of espejo; in 1548 Luis Hurtado shows the abiding influence of Proaza:

> Lector deseoso / de claras sentencias
> aquí te debuja / la madre Claudina
> debajo de gracias / sabrosa doctrina
> para guardar / de mal las conciencias
> verás los avisos / de mil excelencias
> que a los virtuosos / son claro dechado.[17]

The mirror metaphor was used in a similar way in English literature of the same period, as Professor Evans explains in relation to the Mirror for Magistrates (1555 and 1559):

> The term 'Mirror' meant the essential type or example, something approximating to the Platonic Idea [...] The Mirror was conceived as a pattern for statesmen, a series of political examples which should teach their own age to avoid the mistakes of the previous one.[18]

In a seminal study, M.H. Abrams outlined the development of what he called the mirror analogy as a shaping influence on literary theory, an analogy that not only described but also informed ideas about the function of art.[19] What his study shows most clearly is that the explanation of the artistic process in terms of the mirror held up to nature, or to perfect archetypes and ideal forms in nature, eventually went out of fashion and was replaced by alternative analogies 'which would avoid some of the troublesome implications of the mirror, and better comprehend those aspects and relations of an aesthetic object which this archetype leaves marginal or omits' (35). The mirror he describes gave way to the lamp; in the context of the comedia and the picaresque, the espejo gave way to the retrato as the artistic efforts of the author and the fidelity of his painting became features that needed to be distinguished from the moral aims of the work.

Chapter 2: part two. Retrato, pintura and espejo as literary metaphors in the period 1560 - 1599.

Any history of literary metaphors must always remain tentative since developments or changes in usage are rarely unanimous and any consensus on a shift of emphasis can take a long time to form and filter through. As far as Spain is concerned, the notion of the mirror crystalized into a limited range of options which were inspired and even dictated by the symbolism of Catholic theology. The implicit purity of the mirror became a standard metaphor for the Divine in all its manifestations. In emblem books the mirror conveyed the notion of the self-knowledge and liberation from illusion (desengaño) which would lead the sinner back to God. A rare exception to these interpretations of the mirror is offered by Leone Ebreo who, in his popular Dialoghi d'amore (published in 1535, and translated into Spanish in 1568 and 1586), uses the analogy of the mirror to explain our limited capacity to apprehend the essence of the Divine; his point is that the object of knowledge is apprehended by the knower according to his powers, not according to those of the object. I quote from the 1586 translation:

> ¿No ves que se imprime y comprende la forma del hombre en el espejo, no según el perfecto ser humano sino según la capacidad y fuerza de la perfección del espejo, que es solamente figurativo y no esencial? (Compare with a modern English version: «Do you not see how the form of man is impressed on, and received by, a mirror, not as a complete human being, but within the limits of the mirror's powers and capabilities, which reflect the figure only and not the essence?» [20]

He returns to the same point and the same metaphor in his third dialogue:

> Píntase e imagínase la hermosura infinita del Criador en la hermosura finita criada como una hermosa figura en un espejo: mas no por eso conmensura la imagen al divino imaginado, pero bien le será simulacro, semejanza e imagen.(243)

However, the standard Spanish approach of the period was to view the Divine as the mirror which should be contemplated by the faithful.

The poems of Diego Cortés (written around 1562) illustrate this well: on at least three occasions he describes Mary Magdalene (one of his main subjects) as an espejo.[21] She is 'espejo de penitencia'(143), 'espejo cristalino'(145) and 'de penitencia espejo muy subido'(272). Similarly the Virgin Mary, in accordance with her traditional symbolism, is described as 'claro espejo de pureza'(349). For Cortés, God is the Gran Pintor who has made mankind in his own image with the care and attention characteristic of a portrait painter:

> Si algún pintor rarísimo afamado
> retrata de una imagen la figura,
> trabaja que el adorno y la pintura
> se llegue a perfeción en sumo grado:
> el gran Pintor habiendo retratado
> al hombre de su misma hermosura
> muy rico adorno y gracia le procura,
> y en ello emplea, y pone gran cuidado.(93)

Elsewhere in his poetry Cortés uses the same metaphors to illustrate that mankind is 'aquel retrato tanto sublimado'(55); through forgiveness God will clean the repentant soul ('tu imagen tan preciosa') which has been sullied by sin: 'darás color al vivo a tu pintura'(278). The espejo and retrato metaphors follow a consistent pattern: the Divine viewed from the human end is a spotless mirror (claro

and cristalino), while the soul of mankind viewed from the Divine standpoint is a self-portrait ('imagen pura') threatened by sin, and renewed or cleansed by contrition.

In another moral work, appropriately entitled Dechado de varios subiectos (pub. 1572), Gerónimo de Contreras equates the idea of painting with the concept of variety, in a way that in later years becomes a significant line of argument:

> Compuse este dechado y sus labores
> y dile el nombre al fin dechado vario,
> pues es vario un pintor en las colores
> y en hierbas conoscer el herbolario:
> y es lo mismo un galán en sus amores,
> y en piedras el famoso lapidario
> y todo lo demás de cualquier suerte
> es pura variedad hasta la muerte.[22]

Fray Diego de Estella, on the other hand, uses the phrase 'pintar como querer' to convey his disapproval of unsound preaching methods. His Modo de predicar (1570-73) contains three examples of a phrase defined in Autoridades as follows:

> Pintar como querer: frase con que se explica que alguno, sin fundamento ni solidez, se adula el gusto, persuadiéndose a que alguna cosa tendrá el efecto que él se figura y le conviene.[23]

In one case Estella warns the would-be preacher against developing religious symbolism of his own invention: 'esto es predicar sueños, y pintar como querer'(37); elsewhere he advises his reader not to indulge in tiresome explanations of his figures of speech:

> Porque, en usando tú de este lenguaje: 'por esto se entiende esto y por esto esotro', ya parece que compones de tu cabeza, y pintas como quieres.(45)

However, his treatment of pintar is not wholly negative since he uses it to refer to the parables of the New Testament ('el evangelio [...] donde se pintan ambas aquellas dos cosas':

109). The preacher must be both 'artista y teólogo'(12) and have persuasive acting skills ('tener buena representativa': 136) in order to move his audience; Estella stresses the need to use 'los colores retóricos' in order to present a well-known truth in a novel form.[24] Writing at about the same time, Lorenzo Palmireno, in El estudioso cortesano, uses similar language in a similar context:

> Del theólogo no quiero tratar aunque en mis liciones a mis discípulos que tiran a theología, siempre les voy advirtiendo, se provean de hypotyposis, por cuanto retratando con esa figura [ie. retórica] una gran tristeza de David, de Iob, de Rachel, con su Benoni, y de otros Patriarcas: un río Jordán, un sancto arrobado, mueven mucho el auditorio.[25]

It seems safe to infer from the advice of Estella and Palmireno that the preacher could and should paint emotions by using the colours of rhetoric, but not go beyond established limits. For Estella artista did not mean 'artist' in the modern sense, but rather someone with a training in the liberal arts, as Covarrubias makes clear.[26] Predictably, Estella uses the word ficción pejoratively, and rather curiously proscribes the term figura: he objects to the statement 'Isaac es figura de Cristo', and prefers the preacher to explain his comparison (43). Here perhaps is a glimpse of a pictorial metaphor in the process of transformation. In 1611, Covarrubias (for example) does not register this long-standing metaphorical usage (figura as prefiguration), but explains figura variously as shape, disguise, character in a play, face, astrological and rhetorical figure, and (perhaps, most significantly) as 'algún hombre de humor y estravagante'. In this light, the statement

about Isaac could provoke more mirth than piety, and would be best avoided.

In an early piece of writing from 1586 Lope de Vega draws a comparison between good poetry and skilful painting. Despite his intention to flatter his subject, Gabriel López Maldonado, in a set-piece canción, the poem is not without value:

> Como pintor discreto habéis dispuesto
> sobre la tabla de pasiones proprias
> aquí el violado, allí el azul, y el verde
> no mal formadas, ni jamás inproprias[sic]
> que con vivo pincel las habéis puesto
> donde ninguna se escurece o pierde.[27]

The 'pintor discreto' or 'docto' or 'raro' gradually develops in the late sixteenth century into a useful metaphor for poets, as well as for painters themselves (Pellicer de Tovar's 'diestro y liberal pintor' of 1631 has already been mentioned above, p. 45). The status of a written work or of poetry as a whole could be underlined by reference to this metaphorical figure. After all, as late as the 1590s, there were clearly those who considered that poetry dealt only in profanity, as the prologue to the poems of Diego Cortés (eventually published in 1592) indicates; the poet's son is anxious to establish that poetry is a noble art ('arte nobilísima'), and that it can treat religious matters: 'la Poesía de su género no es estranjera a las materias honestas' ('Prólogo' to Discursos del varón justo, 6 and 9). The implicit wisdom, learning and discretion of the 'painter' was in some way transferred to the writer and proclaimed the high quality of his creation. In this introductory conceit from a theological work of 1593 the wisdom has been transferred to the

paintbrush, but the intention is identical:

> Canción a tal subjeto
> mira bien que le vas haciendo agravio
> donde hay pincel tan sabio [ie. the writer]
> que aquí le ponga su color perfeto,
> y de sus perfeciones
> basta que tú hayas hecho estos borrones.[28]

Another example from the minor genre of commendatory verse illustrates the same process. In a book about the soldier's life, published in 1589, the author uses no painting metaphors, preferring the verbs contar, escrebir and describir.[29] One sonneteer invites the reader to view the work as a dechado containing 'verdad historial polida y llana', while another alludes to the 'rare' skills of the artist:

> Agora aquesta historia debujando
> con pluma de real Aguila subida
> volaste donde raro habrá tu igual.[30]

In La conversión de la Magdalena (1588), by Pedro Malón de Chaide, one can see again the metaphorical uses of espejo and pintar previously incorporated by Diego Cortés and Fray Diego de Estella.[31] Here again the beauty of God is described as 'sol resplandeciente, hermosura infinita, espejo purísimo de la gloria'(88). Likewise, Christ is 'espejo de los santos, resplandor de gloria'(123), while Mary Magdalene herself is a 'raro y admirable ejemplo de penitencia'(111). For what the Bible tells us, Malón de Chaide interchanges pintar and contar, although at one point his choice of verb seems more specific as he prepares to 'pintar el estado de pecadora en que se vio la Magdalena'.[32] At another point he contemplates the Passion of Christ and exclaims: 'Ecce Deus, que me da su fortaleza, venciendo. ¡Dulce retrato de mi remedio!'(278). By the 1590s, and probably by long before then, the equation of

espejo with concepts like purity and light had been thoroughly consolidated. The range of pintar and retrato was much broader, extending across the spectrum from the representation of sin to the symbolic portrayal of the Divine. The dominance of the portrait and mirror metaphors was not total, however, and epic poetry (in particular) inspired a preference for the verb cantar and the metaphors of plectrum and lyre (plectro and lira) which was certainly established by 1588.[33]

The 1590s saw the publication of a whole series of books which set out to present models of human conduct in a range of spheres, including warfare, medicine, court etiquette and religious piety. In most of these works, the writers themselves or those who penned special prologues and verse resorted to the mirror and portrait metaphors to explain the aim of the book or (in the case of the latter group) to praise the author. In El perfeto capitán (1590), Diego de Alaba makes it clear that he is presenting an ideal, composite image:

> El trabajo que he puesto en sacar de varios autores las partes que pueden componer un perfeto capitán [...] He procurado que en este libro haya algo que imitar.[34]

One can deduce from his warnings to potential critics that Alaba was prepared to describe his composite perfect captain as a figura.[35] There follow two prologues by different men addressing the question of whether it is justifiable for an author to present ideal types to the reader; the first, by Antonio de Toledo, deals with the matter at some length:

> Siguiendo esta perfición y yendo guiado a ella, porque (como dijo muy bien Cicerón en los libros de Oratore, en todo lo que es dar precetos se ha de seguir) [don Diego] pinta un perfeto Capitán y soldado, y esto calumnian

> también los que nunca supieron decir bien de cosa que lo fuese: y paréceles mucho en esta hez del siglo, y en la fragilidad humana hallarse tanta perfición.(10)

Two points should be made here. Firstly, the verb pintar is quite clearly compatible with the idea of portraying perfection, here and elsewhere in these two prologues. Secondly, the strongly negative phrase 'esta hez [dregs] del siglo' (compare Covarrubias' definition of 'la hez del pueblo' as 'la gente vil y ruin, sin honra y sin término') betrays a mood of collective disenchantment (even cynicism) more ready, perhaps, to respond to the scatological antics and gallows humour of the picaresque than to notions of human perfectibility. Antonio de Toledo summons the precedent of Cicero to his and Alaba's defence:

> Y a esto sólo responda el mesmo Cicerón, que pintando un perfeto Orador tal que jamás pudiese hallarse, dice, que pone el blanco y la mira en lo muy perfeto, para que yendo aspirando todos a él, sino pudiesen llegar a lo sumo den en lo menos perfeto.(11)

The writer then illustrates the classical and modern traditions behind Alaba's perfect captain which justify the 'painting' of the ideal model or idea:

> Esto mismo procuró Xenofonte cuando en la Cyriopedia pintó, no las cosas de Ciro, sino la idea de un famoso perfeto Capitán. Esto pretendió el mismo Cicerón, cuando formó en los diálogos que escribió de República una perfetísima. Y esto mismo Platón en los libros de leyes. Y esto Baltasar Castellón (porque pongamos más a los ojos el ejemplo) en el Cortesano, donde nos le pinta tan perfeto que es imposible hallarse tal, sino es por la razón que he dicho.(11)

He goes on to mention several contemporary Spanish examples, including Monzón's Espejo (discussed above, pp. 90-91), before signing off with a pictorial compliment to the author who, he

says, 'mostrará mejor, en una sola sombra de su libro, lo que digo [...] con mis groseras palabras'(12).

In the second prologue a lecturer at Salamanca university takes up some of the points made by Antonio de Toledo. He begins by listing some classical generals of renown to prepare the ground for his argument:

> De los cuales hubo muchos en quien concurrieron las partes que V.m. pide en un Capitán para merecer nombre de perfeto: y en nuestros tiempos los hay; y cuando en algunos falten, no siendo suyo el retrato que V.m. pretende hacer, no tendrán porqué tachar su pintura, ni ella perderá de su perfeción, por no estar hecha de suerte que parezca a todos, pues no están las cosas en el mundo demanera, que las que comúnmente corren, hayan de ser tenidas por las mejores.(2)

Finally, a sonnet by yet another writer describes Alaba's book as 'este su dechado milagroso'. A quick review of the metaphors used in conjunction with this book (written around 1587) shows that the portrait was still compatible with the notion of the perfect type: besides compostura (fol. 3r), we have figura, pintar, blanco, mira, idea, retrato and pintura.

The same is true of the Galateo español by Lucas Gracián Dantisco, first published in 1582 with new editions in 1593, 1595 and 1599.[36] The author has designed the book as an 'ejemplar', a point reinforced in one of the introductory sonnets. Several other sonneteers call the work 'este claro espejo' and 'espejo en que se mira el mundo ufano', and for one the book is a guiding light (luz). In another sonnet Lope de Vega describes the book as 'espejo de vivir, claro dibujo'. Gracián Dantisco, for his part, is happy to call his book a pintura:

> Que aunque va embuelta en cuentos, y donaires, no dejará de aprovechar a quien tuviere necesidad de alguno destos avisos, si ya no tuviere tan amarga la boca, y estragado el gusto, que nada le parezca bien. Pero los demás si fueren tales, que no se hallen en esta pintura retratados, gustarán mucho de su polideza, y buen cuidado.(99)

Here we have a similar range of metaphors: ejemplar, espejo, luz, pintura and the adjective claro transferred by Lope in an unusual way to dibujo. In Martín de Carvallo's Espejo de príncipes y ministros (1598) the adjective claro is transferred in an identical manner to the noun retrato:

> Ya sabes [,] Príncipe [,] que en este espejo y claro retrato de buenas acciones miras cómo sería formar un hombre sin cabeza el tratar de significarte las acciones exteriores [...], olvidando las interiores.[37]

But the combination of claro with retrato is not common, while claro dibujo is even rarer; in the same way, vivo espejo is seldom used. On the other hand the pairing of claro with espejo, and of vivo with retrato developed into clichés (as I have indicated) which gradually came to dictate, and not merely express, patterns of thought.

The Retrato del perfecto médico (1595) by H.J. Henriques is intended to expose 'los que son médicos sólo en el vestido', and at the same time to 'pintar un perfecto Médico'.[38] There is little evidence that the author envisaged himself as some kind of painter; indeed his choice of metaphor to describe the creation of the work jars awkwardly with the notion of a portrait:

> Semejante obra como ésta, aunque labrada por mis groseras manos, y trazada por un tan poco polido Arquitecto como yo.(Author's dedication)

The author's brother, who writes the prologue, begins by calling the book an ejemplar and a dechado, and then refers in

turn to the renowned composite 'imagen de la diosa Venus' and 'aquel espejo Socrático', both recurrent classical allusions of the period (the latter already quoted in Monzón's work of 1544, see above, p. 90). In an uninspired sonnet Lope de Vega then tells us that the author's painting ('Enríquez pinta un médico perfecto') has heroically eclipsed Cicero's perfect orator and other precedents by arriving at the abyss(!) of perfection, and that he should have portrayed himself in order to paint the perfect doctor.[39] As far as metaphors are concerned, there appears to be no problem with the combination of retrato with an ideal or perfect subject: in this context retrato was still interchangeable with dechado and espejo.

The theological works of the 1590s reiterate the established usage of the mirror metaphor. Francisco Farfán (1590) has 'espejo y dechado de toda pureza, y castidad'; in a Cancionero from 1591 the Virgin Mary is 'espejo en que Dios se vee[sic]'; for Diego de Yepes (1592) the life of Christ is a 'clarísimo y reluciente espejo'; for Cristóbal de Fonseca (1598) the saints are 'los espejos en que nos hemos de mirar' while the Divine Essence is 'el espejo clarísimo.[40] Fray Juan de Castañiza, in his Historia de San Romualdo (1597) includes espejo in a list of metaphorical synonyms which he uses to describe the role of the hermit:

> [Los ermitaños] son intercesores del mundo y abogados, luz de hombres, espejo de virtudes, dechado de santidad, forma de religión, diciplina[sic] de la Fe Católica, compañeros de los Angeles, amigos del Esposo, hijos del altísimo.[41]

The metaphor of the idea, also used by the same author in his title ('idea y forma perfecta de la vida solitaria'), conveyed

the notion of the perfect archetype or model - what Covarrubias defines as an exemplar - and became popular in titles of prescriptive literature in the seventeenth century.[42] Still in the field of theology, the concept of human soul's likeness to God was conveyed in the standard pairing of imagen and semejanza.[43] Variations on the theme occasionally involved painting comparisons and alternative terminology, as in this example by Farfán, whose theme is the nobility of the soul 'por ser retratada de la imagen de Dios':

> Suele el pintor para haber de retratar su rostro poner delante de sí un espejo, donde el mesmo rostro se imprime naturalmente: y de allí va poco a poco sacando sus faciones[sic]. Pero porque el retrato de la tabla es por arte, y el del espejo por naturaleza: y el arte (por más que suba de punto) no puede llegar a la perfectión[sic] de naturaleza, no podrá todo el arte de la pintura junta sacar tan al vivo el retrato en la tabla como lo imprimió naturaleza en el espejo: siempre falta y desdice, y queda corto.(Regimiento, 1590, fol. 301ᵛ)

Likewise, God looks into the mirror of his essence and produces the image of His Son, and then from that image he paints the human soul; consequently, the 'retrato de aquel sumo artífice' in the soul is a copy of a copy, a second trasumpto:

> El Padre eterno produce de sí mismo coeternalmente su Hijo, como trasumpto natural: y mirando este trasumpto en aquel espejo sin mancilla, retrata como artificialmente tu alma, y la mía, y las de todos. Y las pinta de sus colores, aunque no tan al vivo, ni tan perfectamente, como en el primer trasumpto, porque eso no era posible.(fol. 302ʳ)

Several points should be made here: despite his necessary premise that art cannot match nature (the 'contest' between the two was a favourite topic of the period), Farfán's comparison does include two important themes. Firstly, that

painting involves a gradual process of cross-reference with the model and, secondly, that accurate painting (pintar al vivo) shows the sitter's colores. As I have pointed out already, color at this time could convey the contradictory notions of both truth and pretence (or disguised form).

Three more important painting themes emerge from books written in the 1590s. The theme of variety, which had been linked with painting by 1572 (see above, p. 99), is taken up by Cristóbal de Mesa in 1593. In his epic poem Las Navas de Tolosa Mesa states that he has made the naked statue of history 'no sólo vestida, pero aun compuesta con algunas galas'. He has introduced 'la invención de la fábula' and 'el ornato de la verosimilitud' to produce a unified effect: 'para que la tela fuese uniforme'. The 'painting' of variety is a key factor in this process:

> Y según quieren los Maestros del Arte, no basta que en un poema sea la acción una, mas ha de ser también entera, posible, creíble, verisímil, moral, o afectuosa y maravillosa: que como en un mundo se halla variedad de elementos, aves, animales, pescados, plantas, con que naturaleza lo enriquece y hermosea: así en su Poema el raro y gentil artífice imitador de la mesma naturaleza ha de pintar diversidad de cosas que todos ellas lleven respeto a un fin.[44]

There is evidence that the notion of variety (of material and style: 'tenor') was penetrating into the realms of theological writing and that this new approach ('nuevo estilo') constituted in some people's minds a daring departure ('atrevimiento').[45] Cristóbal de Fonseca, writing in 1598, is anxious to counter the objection that he has included verses by 'autores profanos' in a book about the life of Christ. After quoting the Horatian maxim (delectare prodesse) he

maintains that theological works can be written with elegancia and gala; the most important thing is to paint well:

> Pinta un mal pintor un caballo, y como no le parece, pone un rétulo[sic] que dice (caballo). Pinta una coluna, y como parece leño, pone (coluna). Este no pinta para los avisados, sino para los necios. Mas un famoso pintor pinta una yegua, que hace relinchar al caballo natural, cuando la mira, pinta unas uvas, que se abaten los pájaros a picallas: ¿A cuál de los dos daréis el voto? Alafe, lo que importa es pintar bien. Que tema el cordero del león pintado de vuestra mano, y que huya la liebre del galgo como si estuviera vivo, que si está mal pintado, yo os aseguro que no huya, por más rétulos que tenga.[46]

Here the well-travelled anecdotes from Pliny are pressed into the service of a new aesthetic with an urgent emphasis on the power of good, accurate painting. The potential of painting to portray the spirit of the sitter, which was at the heart of contemporary painting theory (see above, p. 54), is implicit in Antonio de Fuenmayor's pintura of Pope Pius V, where the author says that 'procuré representar el ánimo de Pío'.[47]

To sum up: on the eve, as it were, of the publication in 1599 of Guzmán de Alfarache, which was so influential in establishing not only a genre of literature but also the metaphor of the retrato in connection with it, a writer had the following range of literary analogues: espejo, dechado, ejemplo, luz, idea, guía, forma, aviso, símbolo, cifra, trasunto, retrato and pintura. It appears from the evidence that all of these terms could be applied to exemplary literature and often in pairs (espejo y dechado was the most popular) or with specific adjectives (espejo claro being the most frequent phrase of this kind). From the list above, the

only two terms that were regularly paired with the adjective vivo were pintura and, more especially, retrato. Starting with the example of Delicado's Retrato de la Lozana andaluza, these were the two metaphors applied to the process of portraying real life, as opposed to the world of perfect types. The moral purpose of all literature was conveyed by means of the first three metaphors (espejo, dechado and ejemplo) with occasional variants. Comparisons with painting, which were partially inspired by Pliny's stories of artists (Apelles and Zeuxis in particular), became very common in prologues to literary works of all types. These prologues underlined the skill and learning of the painter, the powerful effects achieved by both literal and rhetorical painting, the variety of painting and the gradual process of cross-reference and construction (from sketch to finished product) inherent in the art of painting. Some writers, following the example set by Proaza, were tending to describe writing as sketching, and in the process inviting comparison with the finer aspects of artistic expertise. Mateo Alemán clearly felt the need for a metaphor to explain the nature of his content and style in Guzmán. Some thirty or forty years later, other terms like epítome and quintaesencia would have joined the list of possible options, but in 1599 the painting metaphor was the logical choice, and (in conjunction with the novel metaphor of the atalaya) it was the one he made. His subject matter made the espejo analogue inappropriate, and choosing it would also

have denied his artistry. By contrast, the notion of the fiel retrato which sets the tone for the book tallied perfectly with the concept of a skilfully-painted image of the vagrant's sinful life. Alemán's choice of metaphor was endorsed by López de Ubeda and, in the course of time, by the 'propagandists' of the comedia.

Chapter 2: part three. Guzmán de Alfarache and its derivatives.

The so-called 'picaresque genre' continues to provoke different and conflicting lines of interpretation. One area of sustained debate centres on the question of realism, that is, each writer's stated or supposed intention to represent accurately both the main character and the milieu in which his or her adventures take place. For R.O. Jones Guzmán de Alfarache is 'a survey not only of the life of one man but of the society which contains him'.[48] For Paul Julian Smith the book 'is concerned explicitly, if intermittently, with the process of representation itself', and he sees the whole work 'framed' by the two painting anecdotes 'which treat differing aspects of the problem'.[49] If the book is a kind of retrato as its author implies then his choice of metaphor, although the logical one, raises questions about, firstly, his sources and, secondly, his specific approach to the notion of painting (as far as it is possible to reconstruct these things from the evidence). A likely and (probably) important factor in his choice of painting metaphors was his familiarity with the writings of his friend Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, particularly his Amparo de pobres which was published in 1598. Both Pérez and, a year later, Alemán invite the reader to consider their works as a rasguño or rough sketch.[50] In a 'carta al lector' Pérez de Herrera proudly accepts responsibility for instigating his charitable programme, which includes the removal of false beggars from Spain, and

encourages the prudent reader to take on and develop that work:

> Sirviendo este trabajo mío a los prudentes como de un rasguño en que, poniendo ellos la mano, con el pincel de su buen ingenio y estudio perficionen esta obra, y ayuden con su talento a que se prosiga la buena ejecución que ya se comienza a poner por obra.(16)

Furthermore, in a section where he is discussing the redeemability of sinners through the combination of 'la mudanza de costumbres' and 'la dotrina cristiana', Pérez de Herrera again employs the portrait metaphor:

> Se ha de echar de ver en las repúblicas una notable trasformación[sic] en estos pobres, ya ricos de bienes espirituales, y los que hasta aquí han sido a nuestros ojos un retrato de la suma miseria - y para sí tan crueles, que gustaban de andar desnudos, y sin curar sus llagas, de que resultaba mucho daño por su desordenada codicia - , apurados como verdaderos pobres, y entresacados de la mala compañía de los fingidos y vagabundos.(65)

For Pérez de Herrera, the three painting metaphors - rasguño, pincel and retrato - may have been no more than figures of speech, convenient ways of (a) inviting others to take up his cause, and (b) expressing something like our phrase 'the epitomy of misery'; there is no evidence in his book of a 'pictorial' approach of any sort. It is interesting to observe in the close grouping of retrato and 'desordenada codicia' the stimulus (perhaps) for Carlos García's deliberately 'pictorial' treatise on thieving which was published in 1619 (see below, pp. 122-23).

Comparison with the prologues to Guzmán de Alfarache shows that if Alemán got his painting words from Pérez de Herrera, he and Alonso de Barros (also closely connected with the composition of the Amparo de pobres) developed them into

something approaching a statement of technique. After asserting that the masses ('vulgo') are a 'retrato [del] infierno'(91), Alemán links the writing of the book to the process of painting:

> Muchas cosas hallarás de rasguño y bosquejadas, que dejé de matizar por causas que lo impidieron. Otras están algo más retocadas, que huí de seguir y dar alcance, temeroso y encogido de cometer alguna no pensada ofensa. Y otras que al descubierto me arrojé sin miedo, como dignas que sin rebozo se tratasen.(94)

Hints are given to the 'discreet' reader that the book contains hidden meanings: 'Mucho te digo, que deseo decirte y mucho dejé de escribir, que te escribo'(94); this may be merely a device to make one read on, or a rewording of the 'sketch to painting' metaphor: in other words, that the careful reader will be able to read and decipher what has been no more than sketched as well as what has been fully stated. Alonso de Barros takes up the 'painting' thread in his elogio, where his aim is to praise Alemán as both historian and painter, so to speak. The debt we owe to painting, he says, for its edifying images of extreme virtue and vice is eclipsed by our obligation to those who 'en historias tan al vivo nos lo representan'(95), among whom Alemán has distinguished himself:

> Pues en la historia, que ha sacado a luz, nos ha retratado tan al vivo un hijo del ocio, que ninguno, por más que sea ignorante, le dejará de conocer en las señas.(97)

Though speaking figuratively, Barros is working on the assumption that retratar al vivo implies an unmistakable likeness. So when the book opens with the anecdote of the horse painting we are led irresistibly to view the 'ingenioso

pintor' who produces the preferable 'fiel retrato' as a projection by the author of himself as painter. After stressing that Guzmán's shameful punishment prevents him from inspiring others as a model (ejemplo y dechado: 97), Barros incorporates the artistic concepts of perspective and shade into his continuing praise of Alemán:

> En el cual [este discurso], por su admirable disposición y observancia en lo verisímil de la historia, el autor ha conseguido felicísimamente el nombre y oficio de historiador y el de pintor en los lejos y sombras con que ha disfrazado sus documentos y los avisos tan necesarios para la vida política y para la moral Filosofía a que principalmente ha atendido.(98)

The painter of the favoured picture in the first chapter, besides deceiving the eye with a perfect likeness, fills out the remainder of the image with 'claros y oscuros, según y en el lugar que convenía'(108), again suggesting comparison with the sombras used by the author. (It must be said, however, that the second painter, who is guilty of including superfluous detail, sketches, amongst other things, impressive effects of perspective: 'dibujó admirables lejos'(108); Barros praises Alemán for this as well). Guzmán's specific target in this anecdote of the two painters is the human tendency to exaggerate the truth beyond recognition; his declared intention is to 'expresar el puro y verdadero texto'(107) and, by implication, 'cumplir con pintar el caballo'(110), but, as R.O. Jones explains, Alemán does have Guzmán wander from the point in the telling of his story (A Literary History, 132), and in some ways any 'portrait' in the book is a combination of the one painter's fiel retrato and the other painter's emphasis on the need for variety in a painting:

> Y es importante y aun forzoso para la vista y ornato componer la pintura de otras cosas diferentes, que la califiquen y den lustre.(Guzmán, 109)

This mixture of truth and 'adorno' is evident in Alemán's Vida de San Antonio de Padua (written by 1603) where he defines his procedure for writing history:

> De tal manera debe proceder cualquier historiador en sus escritos, que vayan tan desnudos de lo que no es muy proprio dellos, cuanto vestidos de toda verdad [...] Tengo por permitido, a un claro y fiel espejo cristalino de roca [ie. San Antonio] donde nos habemos de mirar, ponerle algunos adornos con que se guarnezca.[51]

Alemán's awareness of his own tendency to fill out the picture in his writing is evident in the early chapters of the saint's life when he takes several pages off to answer the question '¿qué tiene que ver lo escrito hasta aquí?'(fols 12^{v}-14^{r}).

The second painting anecdote, in the last chapter of Guzmán de Alfarache, hinges on a client's incapacity to appreciate that the otherwise perfect painting of a horse has been left to dry upside down; the discreet painter ('discreto': 892) explains how his client's literal interpretation has led to this confusion. Guzmán then applies this story to our own flawed perception of God's picture: 'la tabla, hecha por el soberano Artífice'(892). What Paul Julian Smith has called the 'framing' of Guzmán de Alfarache within these two anecdotes reveals a preoccupation on Alemán's part with the whole question of truthful representation and accurate perception. What interests me most is Alemán's notion of the fiel retrato that underpins a book which had massive popular appeal and an incalculable effect on the link in people's minds between this kind of writing and the metaphor of the portrait. This literary retrato advertises rather than denies

the skill of the 'painter' who is by turns ingenioso and discreto; furthermore it is a retrato vivo with all the range of effects inherent in painting: Alemán really does seem to have thought of himself as in some way sketching and painting the story of Guzmán. A significant amount of the fiction deriving from this book takes up the retrato metaphor and develops it to a greater or lesser extent.

La pícara Justina is called on its title page a 'libro de entretenimiento'; consequently, any analysis of the author's intentions must take this into account.[52] In the first prologue López de Ubeda refers to the book as 'este juguete' and then as 'esta historia desta mujer vana (que por la mayor parte es verdadera, de que soy testigo)'. Some scholars have accepted his claim that the work was written earlier (around 1580) and then reworked (López de Ubeda says 'algo aumentado') after the publication of Guzmán de Alfarache, while others consider that the whole book was composed between 1601 and 1604.[53] My analysis will concentrate on the author's treatment of painting metaphors, leaving aside the book's relation to the 'picaresque canon' and taking for granted that the author's stated intention to edify ('santo fin') is the last thing on his mind. A recent editor of the book sees a clear intention to parody works that set out to convey moral lessons, including Guzmán de Alfarache (Rey Hazas, 77). Marcel Bataillon has shown that the success in its time of La pícara Justina was more than partly attributable to the thinly-disguised allusions to contemporary figures which it contains (Rey Hazas, 29-30). Scattered throughout the three

parts of the lengthy general introduction are all of the painting words used by Alemán and Barros in Guzmán; so, in the first número we have 'fielmente', 'historiador' and 'retrato verdadero'(90-91), while in the third número we have 'rasguñar' and 'dibujar'(127). Contemporary readers could scarcely have failed to note how the author virtually accuses Alemán, among others, of portraying a lie:

> Mas entended que no pretendo (como otros historiadores) manchar el papel con borrones de mentiras, para por este camino cubrir las manchas de mi linaje y persona; antes, pienso pintarme tal cual soy, que tan bien se vende una pintura fea, si es con arte, como una muy hermosa y bella [...] Si es que mi historia ha de ser retrato verdadero, sin tener que retratar de lo mentido, siendo pícara, es forzoso pintarme con manchas y mechas.(90-91)

Two distinct points should be made here. This (perhaps jocular) attack on a book of monumental popularity should probably be seen as part of the author's attempt to outdo his model (cf. Rey Hazas, 28). Secondly, despite the fact that no such 'true portrait' is forthcoming in the book, López de Ubeda is making at least a semi-serious point about the new vogue for accurate representation; low-life painting and low-life literature were all the rage, even to the extent that the aristocracy indulged in masked parties 'a lo pícaro' (Rey Hazas, 43).

In the third part of the general introduction, which is addressed to an ink blot with the form of a snake, the author returns to the moral applications of his book, its capacity to 'curar y desengañar':

> Y debérseme ha el blasón de segunda Esculapia, pues lo que la culebra rasguña, mis obras lo dibujan.(127)

Here again the intention may be to parody the painterly metaphors of Guzmán, as well as to pun on the double meaning of rasguñar (to scratch and to sketch). There can be no question of aspiring to painterly effects, since the author himself confesses to a hollow creation in his portrayal of Justina: 'De aquí es que con razón pinta el author [sic] esta mujercilla tan hueca'(131). As far as the story proper is concerned, there seems to be a residual allusion to the notion of a portrait for the duration of the first few chapters where pintar alternates with contar, as for example in 'yo les pintaré su traza, postura y talle' and 'píntase una mujer corrida'(136 and 145). Only occasionally after that does the author offer to pintar a character for his readers, and when Justina comes to describe her husband (whose name 'Lozano' may not have been a random choice, but an allusion to Delicado's creation) she uses the verb decir instead of the more appropriate pintar: 'Dirélas [gracias y partes], y con ellas las tachas, que, en fin, no hay cosa criada sin chanfaina [ie. guisado] de malo y bueno'(721). The author's parting shot is a reminder of the portrait promised in the introduction, but now he talks in terms of statues:

> Sacarse ha utilidad de ver esta estatua de libertad que aquí he pintado, y en ella, los vicios que hoy día corren por el mundo. Vale.(741)

It is difficult to draw conclusions from this strange work. Bruno Damiani sees the book as a parody of 'Delicado's literary concept' as well as an attack on Guzmán.[54] The meticulous recording of events which underpins La Lozana andaluza is sent up in the prologues, where the author

presents himself as a witness of things that are mostly true (see above, p. 118). The hidden meanings in the book and its verbal brilliance were probably the features that most preoccupied the readers of the day. It is reasonable to assume that they could accept a work that mocked the aims, structure and even the metaphors of Guzmán without considering the earlier work in any way discredited. What is certain is that the retrato analogue emerged unscathed from the parody and became firmly linked with every kind of literature that exposed and explored the seamier side of life.

The powerful influence exerted on derivative literature by the prologues to Guzmán de Alfarache and La pícara Justina can be assessed in two publications, from 1608 and 1619. The first of these was Strozzi's Italian translation of Lazarillo de Tormes, which was prefaced by an elogio in which Antonio Astudiglio Sivigliano (who was clearly familiar with Guzmán de Alfarache) explains that Lazarillo de Tormes 'ci mostra con si ingegnosa moralità assai più al vivo i lineamenti della Vita humana et la patienzia[sic]'.[55] The suspicion that painting metaphors from Alemán's book have been projected backwards (so to speak) onto a book that contained none before is confirmed by Antonio de Salazar's poem, addressed to the reader, which follows the 'elogio':

> Tú que tan admirado
> de Lázaro el retrato estás mirando,
> las cejas arqueando
> de ver que en cual quier[sic] parte
> es pintura tan alta,
> que a la naturaleza vence el arte
> aun no podrás decir que hablar le falta,
> pues, en haber hablado
> mucho más se parece a su dechado.(39-40)

Here the dechado is the original from which the portrait has been made, the painter's model; this echoes Delicado's use of the same term in an identical context (see above, p. 86). The style of the poem resembles so many iconic verses and the character Lázaro has become the speaking portrait that triumphs over nature. This indeed is pintura alta, a far cry from Villalón's pintura alta of around 1528 which denoted the literary portrayal of exemplary people in El scholástico (see above, p. 92); now 'high painting' does not have to be idealistic, but a lifelike image of the subject - in this case, the prototype of the pícaro.

The notion of the portrait is fundamental to Carlos García's treatise on thieving, La desordenada codicia de los bienes agenos (1619), where the first chapter hinges on the idea that prison is the vivo retrato of Hell, and vice versa; each can be used to explain the other:

> Pudiendo conseguir su intento [to explain Hell] sólo con representar la desesperada vida que en la prisión se padece [...] Este es el estado, práctica y disposición de aquella infernal habitación y horrible caverna, vivo retrato de la desesperada vida que en la prisión se padece.[56]

García gives only a brief dedication to his work, and no prologue explaining his intentions, but the recurrent use of the portrait metaphor underscores the whole design of the book:

> De donde se ve claramente que, hiciendo[sic] la privación de la libertad en el hombre un cambio tan desdichado [...], es la más fuerte y rigurosa pena que se puede imaginar y la que puntualmente retrata la esencia del infierno [...] Y otras casi inumerables[sic] miserias que en la prisión se padecen, de las cuales y de la privación de la libertad, está compuesto este vivo retrato del perpetuo infierno.(91)

Even if he was unfamiliar with the Spanish originals (which is scarcely believable) it seems more than likely that García, writing in France at a time when Guzmán and Lazarillo were recently available in French translation, was inspired in his choice of metaphor by Alemán's faithful portrait of human degradation. He invites his readers to contemplate his portrait of the hell which is prison:

> Esta es, en breves palabras, la miserable prática deste vivo retrato del infierno [...] Medite en ella el lector, para que espantado y temeroso de su ferocidad y dureza, se quite de inconvenientes tan peligrosos como cada día se presentan al hombre en la libertad.(102)

M.J. Thacker describes the first chapter as an extended simile between prison and hell, where the writer's aim is 'to persuade the reader of the physical and moral squalor of life in gaol'; García's central aim, he concludes, lay in 'anatomizing thieving, with its underlying attitude of censure'.[57] The retrato analogue, in his hands, has continued its association with the representation of truthful rather than model human activity.

Not every writer of books related to the notion of the picaresque employs a painting metaphor. Direct imitators of Guzmán, like Juan Martí (Segunda parte, 1603) and Machado de Silva (Tercera parte, c.1650), forsake pintar when explaining what each chapter offers and opt for contar, referir, mostrar and hacer relación de instead; introductory sonnets (one in Italian) to Alemán's own second part (1605) describe the book as 'una bella & poetica fintione/ con troppo ingegno & arte fabricata' and as 'esta ficción [...] breve suma'.[58] There is no echo of the retrato theme in Marcos de Obregón (1618),

where Espinel prefers corteza and implies meollo.[59] Juan de Luna, in his Segunda parte del Lazarillo (1620) makes no mention of retrato, preferring contar in chapter headings, while his description of the book as 'espejo y dechado de la sobriedad española' was surely intended to be read as irony, given the nature of his subject-matter and the connotations of espejo and dechado (which he himself underlines elsewhere in the book).[60] Jerónimo de Alcalá does not view his book El donado hablador Alonso, mozo de muchos amos (Barcelona, 1625) in painting terms, although a preliminary poem praising the author offers a faint echo of Guzmán in the following lines: 'Un mozo gran servidor/ de los amos con quien vive/ dibuja, pinta, y describe/ Alcalá nuestro Dotor'; similarly, while Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses describes his Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro (1626) as the 'parto de mi corto talento y embrión de su idea', the Portuguese writer of the main licencia states that 'se podem ver como em hum retrato os varios acontecimientos da vida'.[61] Quevedo, writing his first draft soon after the publication of Guzmán, does not resort to a painting analogue for La vida del buscón (pub. 1626). In its full form the title ended with a pair of quasi epic epithets 'ejemplo de vagamundos y espejo de tacaños', which Quevedo clearly meant in an ironical sense, much as Cervantes (and Avellanada after him) referred to don Quijote as 'luz y espejo de toda la caballería andante'.[62]

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, while preferring the metaphors of quinta esencia, corteza (paired with fondo) and fiel escritor in his Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza (pub. 1637),

reaffirms the link between the notion of painting and the picaresque in La Garduña de Sevilla (pub. 1642):

> Sirva, pues, de advertimiento a los lectores esta pintura al vivo de lo que con algunas [mujeres] deste jaez sucede, que de todas hago un compuesto para que los fáciles se abstengan, los arrojados escarmienten y los descuidados estén advertidos, pues cosas como las que escribo no son fingidas de la idea, sino muy contingentes [ie. «que puede suceder»: editor's note] en estos tiempos.[63]

In the course of the book there are a couple of instances which might reinforce the impression that the author envisaged himself as in some way 'painting' the subject, as when he states that 'ya hemos pintado el talle de Jaime'(193). What is certain is that the concept of the idea (which had become a popular literary analogue by this time) is set by the author against lifelike painting of the truth, even if the book he produces is laden with moralizing and punctuated by three formulaic novellas. There are no retrato metaphors in 'picaresque' books after La Garduña de Sevilla; Estebanillo González (1646) is unprefaced by metaphors, while only the mirror metaphor appears in El siglo pitagórico (1644), where it is linked to the idea of desengaño in a poem praising the author.[64]

To sum up: the linking of what has come to be known as picaresque literature with the critical metaphor of the portrait was made in a significant number of books. The process certainly had its origins in Proaza's comments on La Celestina and in Delicado's Retrato; the thread from La Lozana andaluza was not necessarily broken and later works may in fact allude to it; Delicado's 'Lozana' states that 'parece mi casa atalaya de putas', and is later said to be 'atalayando

putas'(Bruno Damiani edition, 171 and 216). Alemán may have derived the metaphors of the atalaya and the retrato from Delicado. What is certain is that Alemán (aided by Barros) established the retrato as his chosen metaphor, and López de Ubeda's parodic juguete subsequently endorsed it. Among later writers of literature inspired by picaresque themes, García and Castillo Solórzano perpetuated the link between retrato and verdad. The absence of the espejo metaphor, except in an ironical context, betrays its unsuitability for this type of literature since its contemporary usage linked it with notions of perfect models and moral examples. Writers of other genres, including the theatre, were aware of the distinction between the retrato and espejo analogues, and followed the predominant pictorial trend.

Chapter 2: part four. Some notes on the retrato and espejo metaphors in other literature after 1600.

The portrait metaphor and comparisons between painting and literature were quite clearly in vogue between about 1590 and 1640. I have suggested that, among the educated (at least), greater interest in painting had been fostered by a significant increase in art collecting and in the commissioning of portraiture. An important group of literati were mobilized by Carducho in the 1620s to compose poems and depositions in support of painting's status as a liberal art, and some tendentious comparisons between painting, poetry and drama were an inevitable by-product. The art anecdotes from Pliny, particularly those featuring Alexander, Apelles and Zeuxis, while serving to underline with classical precedents the high status deserved by painting, became common currency in descriptive criticism, particularly in commendatory verse and prologues. For example, Gutiérrez de los Ríos (1600) does not list the honours bestowed by Alexander on painters because they are too well-known: 'las cuales [honras y mercedes] por serlo [notorias] tanto que las saben los niños, no es menester referirlas aquí'(Noticia, 219). An example from Lope de Vega shows how much familiarity with these anecdotes could be taken for granted:

> Si del talento he dado alguna cuenta, quien sabe, juzgue, que para los demás, a tener paciencia de pintor me enseñó primero Apeles y después mis padres.[65]

Lope's contemporaries would have noted immediately that he was alluding to the episode of Apelles and the shoemaker, which

was frequently used in prologues to ward off uninformed criticism.[66] Lope's interesting use of the anecdote to present himself as a painter shows again how writers were keen to borrow some of the mystique which surrounded classical and contemporary painters.

Another feature which can be detected in literary prologues of the period (and elsewhere) is that writers knew more about the techniques of painting and the process of picture-making. The following two comparisons, made by Juan de Mora (1589) and Lope de Vega (before 1603), respectively, may seem obvious when told but are not obvious to everyone who looks at a painting:

> Hay otros lisonjeros que hacen como pintores, que para que algunas cosas parezcan más claras y de más lustre, ponen cerca otras escuras[sic] y sombrías.

> Camilo. Sed vos, para que yo os vea,
> como pintor extremado,
> que aunque la noche ha pintado
> deja luz con que se vea.[67]

Similarly, when Juan Pérez de Montalbán explains his first young man's venture into print as 'probar la pluma, como los pintores los pinceles menos sutiles en las primeras líneas', there is evidence in the simile of direct personal observation and/or some knowledge of the picture-making process.[68] The mystique of the painting process serves as a useful point of comparison for Cristóbal de Fonseca in his Primera parte de la vida de Christo (Toledo, 1598):

> Y así no pudieron entenderse cabalmente los misterios del testamento viejo, hasta que llega el tiempo de la nueva ley y de la gracia: como no se entienden los

> borrones, rasguños, o sombras del pintor, hasta que le pone las faciones[sic] a la imagen, y le da colores y perfección.(fol. 3ʳ)

The idea that painting showed the variety of life was, as I have said, a key factor in popularizing pictorial metaphors and comparisons, both because nature was varied and because variety was a source of pleasure. In 1601, for example, Gabriel Lasso de la Vega published his Manojuelo de romances, which comprises a mixture of serious and (predominantly) comic ballads, and which he describes in the prologue as 'un vivo retrato'.[69] In very jocular vein, he states that he may disregard Horatian precepts and 'mezclar veras y burlas' because it is variety which affords pleasure: 'que es deleitable lo vario'. Most of the prologue contains brief references to the comic ballads in order to whet the reader's appetite, and the serious ballads have only a four-line advertisement. The emphasis is quite clearly on providing entertainment:

> Mi deseo es darte gusto
> y aprovecharte algún tanto,
> lo dulce y lo provechoso,
> si posible me es, juntando.
> [...]
> Finalmente hallarás,
> lector, un vivo retrato
> de mil importantes cosas
> que podrán hacerte al caso.
> No te cause admiración
> si humildes materias traigo
> que Ovidio alabó a la pulga [etc].(9-10)

There is a wide selection of subject matter in the ballads, ranging from Almanzor and 'el Católico Fernando'(141 and 282) to 'un Rey patituerto' and 'Dominga [que] es puerca'(177 and 208); the assurance from the author that everything in the 'portrait' is important is clearly intended as a joke, but the

linking of words like vario, vivo retrato and humildes materias reflects an important trend in the literature of the period.

To illustrate the continuing distinction made by writers in their use of the painting and mirror metaphors one can compare two works published at the height of Guzmán's popularity: the Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos by Francisco de Luque Faxardo (1603) and Alemán's own Vida de San Antonio de Padua (1604). The first book sets out to portray the lower depths of human depravity and to serve as a warning against the evils of gambling; in the aprobación Gonzalo Dávila suggests how the book will be useful:

> A los ociosos y jugadores, para remediarse, a los demás, para ayudarlos con fundado consejo: porque los unos verán sus males al vivo, y los otros tendrán medios para persuadirlos muy a propósito.[70]

Florino, who forsook soldiering for 'las aparentes figuras en papel pintadas' of gambling, returns home destitute - much to his father's relief: 'ahora me es de alivio veros así destrozado y hecho retrato de confusión'(49 and 53). Later the repentant Florino offers to 'pintar una casa del juego'(114) and then another Pliny anecdote is incorporated to convey the scale of the problem (with an additional pun on the word monstruosa):

> Hame acontecido en la presente historia lo que al otro, que para escusar el trabajo de una monstruosa pintura, determinó de pintar un solo dedo que fuese indicio bastante de su gran corpulencia.(154)

While the representation of the subject is conveyed by the verb pintar, the moral purpose is expressed through the mirror simile, as when the writer states that he would be satisfied

if gamblers could see 'como en espejo' their 'arrastrada vida' and mend their ways (103).

In Alemán's Vida de San Antonio it is the mirror that dominates as both simile and metaphor. The writer of the aprobación concludes that the work is 'ejemplar, y ayuda a las buenas costumbres de la república con la imitación del Santo, bien pintada y persuadida', while Juan López del Valle (who writes in praise of Alemán's appropriate style) explains that it is hard to portray (retratar) saintly people since painters tend to flatter their subjects and such people cannot be represented as better than they are. The lives of such people, he continues, are as mirrors: 'como unos clarísimos espejos', and the same writer resorts to the same metaphor in a sonnet, where the book is described as 'este limpio espejo de santidad'; Alemán, himself, in a prologue (quoted above) uses the combination 'claro y fiel espejo cristalino', while Lope de Vega praises Alemán for painting ('pintáis') the saint's religious zeal.[71]

The metaphorical connotations of the mirror remain unchanged in the literature that followed. For example, in the Desengaño de cortesanos (Paris, 1617) by Alonso de Barros, Mateo Alemán (returning an earlier favour by supplying a prologue) describes what is a compendium of aphorisms as 'este centro de verdades [que servirá] a todos en general, de un claro espejo'(21). The work was published in Paris, and in the accompanying translation the last phrase is rendered as 'un miroër[sic] resplendissant'(25). Another example will demonstrate how a distinction between the portrait and mirror

metaphors was sustained well into the seventeenth century. Commenting in 1624 on a collection of novellas by Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Lope de Vega in a censura and then Francisco de Quintana in a laudatory poem use the analogy with the mirror to underline the moral aspect of the stories while the second writer employs the portrait metaphor to describe the creation of the work:

> El estilo es elegante, sentencioso y grave, con muchos avisos y reprehensiones para todas edades, y donde particularmente puede ver como en espejo muchos discretos ejemplos la corta experiencia de los tiernos años.
>
> De la juventud espejo
> entre prodigios y amores
> nos retratáis los errores,
> como médico que astuto
> de la medicina el fruto
> da disfrazado entre flores.[72]

The mirror was also a favourite symbol of the emblematists, as Julián Gállego has pointed out; it was used to convey concepts like the splendour of Divine Love, the devout soul in contemplation of God, prudence and self-knowledge, the desengaño of the philosopher, together with the notion that the perfect ruler must serve as a mirror for his subjects.[73] All of these tally with the metaphorical connotations which, as we have seen, were well established in other literature and criticism. Sebastián de Covarrubias, for example, uses the mirror twice in his Emblemas morales (1610) to convey the concept of desengaño ('conocerse uno a sí mismo' and 'dicen ser la memoria de la muerte el verdadero espejo de la vida') and once to denote purity of heart ('el pecho del hombre bueno, y sin dobleces, es como un espejo cristalino').[74] Less commonly, the mirror could be used to symbolize vanity.[75]

In the 1620s the portrait metaphor was extended in an important way to cover the type of literature which exposed human follies, often by presenting the reader with a caricature or figura. The writings of Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo were probably influential in this context. Prior to 1621, this writer showed little inclination to view or discuss his books by analogy with painting; for example, in El caballero puntual (1614), Salas prefers the verb contar to explain what he offers to his readers, while in Corrección de vicios (1615) and Casa del placer honesto (1620) he prefers referir and describir.[76] In the last of these three books, however, a laudatory décima praises his skill at sketching ('dibujáis') his subject.[77] His book El caballero perfecto (1620) is clearly intended to be a moral work and consequently he uses terms like idea and ejemplo.[78] By contrast, El cortesano descortés (1621) and El necio bien afortunado (1621) are obviously designed to expose and mock human foibles by presenting caricatures, and here the retrato metaphor is invoked. Those mocked in El cortesano descortés are unlikely to recognize their own image:

> Yo deseoso de tu salud, bien que en este deseo demasiadamente atrevido, he querido curarte alguna parte destos achaques, con proponerte debajo de fábula gustosa las figuras de aquéllos, que por este, o por aquel camino se hacen ridículos en la República, y aun muchas veces odiosos, y despreciables [...] Aquí te propongo un Cortesano lleno de inútiles, y vanas descortesías, retrato de muchos, que viéndole se desconocerán en el mismo, y atribuirán esta copia a otros que tendrán el mismo defecto, siendo ellos en ella igualmente interesados.[79]

In Autoridades the word figura is defined in the following terms: 'figura, se llama jocosamente al hombre entonado, que

afecta gravedad en sus acciones y palabras'; for Covarrubias, whose comparable definition of figura has already been quoted, entonado was synonymous with 'vano, presumptuoso y arrogante'.[80] This movement of retrato to encompass the notion of caricature is an interesting development: while being in some ways a distortion, the portrait is still fundamentally true, and revealing for those with eyes to see. Salas does not spare his readers either; the prologue to El necio bien afortunado is addressed to the 'necio, y presumido lector', whose image he promises to portray:

> Tu Coronista, bien que mancamente: porque yo no soy hábil para referir todas las necedades, que tú eres poderoso para hacer, corrige este retrato contigo propio, que eres el original, y enmiéndale de las imperfecciones, que ha tenido en copiar tus imperfecciones.[81]

In Salas' repertoire of literary metaphors idea and retrato seem to be at different ends of the spectrum: the first, while he says that it must have some semejanza, stands for images of perfection; the second is synonymous with human imperfection.

The same kind of distinction still held good around 1650. While Antonio López de Vega describes his book El perfecto señor (1653) as an idea, Antonio Enríquez Gómez describes his exposé of human foibles, La Torre de Babilonia (1649), as a retrato del mundo.[82] In terms which recall those used by Francisco Delicado over a century before, Enríquez Gómez assures the reader that his portrait is based on what he has observed:

> El principal intento que me movió a fabricar esta Torre fue procurar deshacer la del vicio, pintando en esta soñada Babilonia las figuras de la verdadera. No pretendí escalar el cielo de la virtud, sino arruinar el castillo de la soberbia [...] La verdad es que ayudaron

> a la fábrica de mi Torre algunos sujetos que yi y retraté con la pluma.(137-38)

This particular type of satirical writing was later explored by Francisco Santos in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, and for him too the retrato was a key metaphor.[83]

Among the strangest literary creations of the seventeenth century was the collection of five stories by Alonso de Alcalá (published in 1641) in which he omits the five vowels in turn, composing the first story without using the letter a and so on. The artificiality of this technique is praised in laudatory poems which are constructed around the (inevitable) figure of Zeuxis and the theme of the Nature/Art contest:

> Naturaleza vencida
> por el Arte, sólo agora,
> pinta esta tela habladora,
> sin elementos de vida.
> Hoy la vena más pulida
> ceda al estudio, y de parte
> ponga su noble estandarte,
> pues de Alcalá la agudeza
> venció la Naturaleza
> con diligencias del Arte.[84]

There is not enough evidence here to decide whether any serious point is being made about the nature of art and the autonomy of the artist, or whether the writer merely intends to surprise and amuse his readers with a jeu d'esprit worthy of Huysmans or Oscar Wilde, which matches the agudeza he praises in the author.

To sum up: in the period between 1600 and 1640 comparisons between painting and literature were all the rage. A better knowledge of painting techniques was grafted onto classical anecdotes, and the combination of these two elements proved

virtually irresistible for those engaged in descriptive criticism or commendatory verse. The mirror (and increasingly the idea) continued to denote the moral implications of literature while painting and, especially, the portrait were equated with truthful representation (even if that took the form of caricature). A metaphorical link was established between espejo and idea, as when Bocángel recommends to his readers Jaureguí's discourse on poetry 'donde hallará el poeta un espejo y una perfectísima idea, donde componer lo que pretendiere eternizar'.[85] In a climate where little more than lip-service was sometimes paid to moral imperatives in literature, the retrato united in one straightforward metaphor the creative notions that were in vogue, expressed in phrases like pintar lo vario, pintar bien, retrato vivo, fiel retrato, pintar de sus colores, pintar el ánimo, pintar la verdad, dibujar, rasguñar, pintor docto and pintor ingenioso. My next chapter will explore the changes which took place in the terminology used to describe, firstly, the different types of drama and, subsequently, the comedia.

Chapter 2 - Notes

(1) Jean Hagstrum, The Sister Arts (Chicago and London, 1968), and Rensselaer W. Lee, «Ut pictura poesis»: The Humanistic Theory of Painting (New York, 1967), first published in The Art Bulletin XXII (1940), 197-269.

(2) All references are to the edition by Bruno Damiani (Madrid: Castalia, 1972).

(3) See Augusta E. Foley, Critical Guide to «La Lozana andaluza» (London: Tamesis/Grant and Cutler, 1977), 9 and 20. See also Bruno Damiani's introduction to his edition, 12-13.

(4) Bruce Wardropper, 'La novela como retrato: el arte de Francisco Delicado', NRFH VII (1953), 475-88; this reference, 478.

(5) La Celestina 2 vols, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: CC, 1968; 1st edn, 1910), II, 216. All references are to this edition.

(6) Espejo de dotrina (s.l. 1520); preliminary material includes the following: 'Acordé de ordenar el presente tractado descubriendo los lazos en que yo caí por mi gran culpa' and 'Bien demuestra ser espejo/ dar consejo sin trabajo'(no pagination).

(7) Espejo del alma, in BAE 171: Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV, vol. 2, ed. P. Fernando Rubio, O.S.A. (Madrid, 1964), 220-262, especially 241.

(8) Espejo de consolación de tristes [pt. 1] (Antwerp, 1560?), [6-7].

(9) Libro primero d'l [sic] espejo del príncipe christiano (Lisbon, 1544), fols 2^{r}-6^{v}.

(10) Retablo de la vida de Christo (Alcalá de Henares, 1577 edition), fol. 68^{r}.

(11) Quoted by Otis H. Green in 'Fingen los poetas', 280.

(12) All references are to the edition by Richard J.A. Kerr, 2 vols (Madrid, 1967), vol. 1. These phrases, 5 and 11.

(13) The Book of the Courtier, trans. G. Bull, 32, and El cortesano, 1994 edition, 92.

(14) Hernando de Villa Real, Emblema o scriptura de la justicia (Salamanca, 1546), fol. 3^{v}.

(15) Feliciano de Silva, Segunda comedia de Celestina (Medina del Campo, 1534), 'Coplas de Pedro de Mercado corrector en loor de la obra y en que declara el autor della', fourth stanza. The third line of the stanza ('loar.....compuso') is mangled into 'loarlo por ella al cual compuso' in the 1534 version, and so I have adjusted it in accordance with the 'corrected' version in the Venice edition of 1536.

(16) All references, once again, are to the Madrid edition of 1872.

(17) 'Luis Hurtado al lector', printed at the end of Sebastián Fernández, Tragedia Claudina (Toledo, 1548).

(18) Maurice Evans, English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1969), 125.

(19) M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (New York, 1958, 1st edn, Oxford, 1953).

(20) Diálogos de amor (Buenos Aires: Austral, 1947), 39. English translation by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (London, 1937), 35.

(21) Diego Cortés, Discursos del varón justo, y conversión de la Madalena [sic], con otras flores espirituales (Madrid, 1592).

(22) Dechado de varios subiectos [sic] (Saragossa, 1572), the closing lines of the book.

(23) Modo de predicar y Modus concionandi ed. Pío Sagüés Azcona O.F.M. 2 vols (Madrid, 1951), II, 3-185.

(24) 'Y si lo que quiere enseñar es cosa común, dígalo debajo de algún modo de hablar no común ni ordinario, para lo cual sirven los colores retóricos [...] Muchas verdades, aunque sean viejas, se han de predicar y decir, pero el modo de decir, como no es común, deleita. Para esto son los colores retóricos y metáforas.'(Modo, 134-35). Compare: 'Y aunque use colores retóricos y se aproveche del arte de la retórica, tenga [en?] cuenta que la principal parte de ella es encubrirla'(150).

(25) El estudioso cortesano (Alcalá, 1587), fol. 16^{v}.

(26) 'Artista, el que estudia el primer curso de las artes: a diferencia del lógico. Artista, el mecánico que procede por reglas y medidas en su arte y da razón della'; see under arte. Compare A.J. Close: 'Cervantes does not use the word artista, which in the Spanish of

his time could mean a student of the liberal arts, as well as an artisan or artist'; unpublished PhD thesis, The Ideas of Art and Nature in the Works of Cervantes, Trinity College Dublin (1967), 48.

(27) 'Canción en loor del autor de Lope de Vega', in Cancionero de Gabriel López Maldonado [Madrid, 1586], Libros antiguos españoles, Serie 1ª, Joyas de la poesía castellana, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1932), fol. 4^{r-v}.

(28) 'Canción del maestro Fray Diego de Avila', introduction to Joan Chirino, Sumario de las persecuciones que [h]a tenido la Yglesia desde su principio (Granada, 1593).

(29) Diego Núñez Alva, Diálogos de la vida del soldado (Cuenca, 1589).

(30) The term dechado clearly conveys the notion of moral teaching in the first sonnet: 'Verás aquí Lector, en un dechado,/ cómo la lealtad se desempeña,/ y cómo la traición su paz despeña,/ y cómo ensalza Dios al humillado.'

(31) La conversión de la Magdalena 3 vols, ed. P. Félix García (Madrid: CC, 1930). All references are to vol. 1.

(32) For example: 'David nos ha pintado en este salmo la creación del mundo [...] lo mismo cuenta su hijo Salomón en el capítulo VIII'(149). Other examples of pintar in this context, see 118, 139 and 239. For 'pintar el estado' reference, see 111.

(33) See, for example, Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, Poema trágico del español Gerardo, y desengaño del amor lascivo (Barcelona, 1618), where the author refers to 'el plectro de mi musa', while his brother explains that 'allí su error en tres discursos [el autor] canta': 'Al lector', and 'Epístola a los lectores' (no pagination). Compare Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, Primera parte de Cortés valeroso, y Mexicana (Madrid, 1588), where a commendatory sonnet states that 'divino Lasso,/ cuya Musa con plectro sublimado/ cantó el alto valor del fuerte pecho'. These particular metaphors were not reserved for heroic or serious works, but evidently developed into pre-packaged commonplaces of a vague but versatile kind. A sonnet preceding El necio bien afortunado (1621), by Salas Barbadillo, includes the phrases 'lira de nieve' and 'plectro de oro', while a commendatory poem in Salas' El cortesano descortés (1621) by Tomás Sivori shows him recycling 'il pletro' ('soneto en toscano') from El necio into 'tu plectro sonoro' in El cortesano (or vice versa).

(34) Diego de Alaba y Viamont, El perfeto capitán (Madrid, 1590), 'Al Rey nuestro señor'.

(35) He warns the critic not to 'acusar mi inorancia [sic] al mundo' for, until the critic knows how difficult it is to speak on such a 'materia tan poco trillada y tan necesaria, y el trabajo que cuesta componer un cuerpo de muchos miembros, no podrá hacer oficio de buen anotomista [sic], ni dar a cada miembro el lugar que es suyo: y será muy cierto, queriendo emendar una figura, a su parecer contrahecha, dejar figurado un monstruo que añada perfeción a lo que él había condenado por imperfeto'; see 'Al curioso Censor'.

(36) Lucas Gracián Dantisco, Galateo español (Barcelona, 1595).

(37) Martín de Carvallo Villas Boas, Volumen primero del espejo de príncipes y ministros (Milan, 1598).

(38) El licenciado Henrico Ieorge Anríquez lusitano [H.J. Henriques], Retrato del perfecto médico (Salamanca, 1595), second page of dedication, and 111.

(39) 'Que los haya excedido heroicamente,/ conóscese muy bien pues ha llegado,/ de perfectión [sic] al más profundo abismo.'

(40) Francisco Farfán, Regimiento de castos (Salamanca, 1590), ninth page of dedication; Cancionero de Nuestra Señora (Barcelona, 1591), fol. 52^{r}; Diego de Yepes, Discursos de varia historia (Toledo, 1592), first page of prologue; Cristóbal de Fonseca, Primera parte de la vida de Christo Señor Nuestro (Toledo, 1598), third page of prologue. These mirror metaphors appear in the theatre as well; see, for example, Lope de Vega, La limpieza no manchada (1618): 'El espejo de inocencia,/ la purísima María', ed. L.C.[?] (Salamanca, 1972), 37; this play ends with the discovery of 'un cuadro de la limpia Concepción'(98).

(41) Historia de San Romualdo padre y fundador de la Orden Camaldulense, que es una idea y forma perfecta de la vida solitaria (Madrid, 1597), fol. 207^{r}.

(42) For example: José Pellicer de Tovar, Idea de la comedia de Castilla (Madrid, 1635), discussed in my Chapter 3; Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Idea de un príncipe político christiano representada en cien empresas (Munich, 1640). The evidence seems to link the emergence of the term idea as a literary metaphor with the period 1625-40.

(43) For example: 'Y a todas [las almas] las estima Dios en mucho, pues que las hizo a imagen y semejanza suya', Castañiza, Historia de San Romualdo, 1597, fol. 15^{r}.

(44) Cristóbal de Mesa, Las Navas de Tolosa (Madrid, 1593), 'A los lectores'.

(45) Diego de Yepes, Discursos de varia historia (Toledo, 1592), 'prólogo al lector': 'La variedad causa gusto y deleita [...] En materias que no son de Fe cada uno tiene libertad para seguir lo que más gusto le diere. Yo puedo certificar que de industria no he hecho mentira.'

(46) Primera parte de la vida de Christo, 'prólogo al lector'.

(47) Vida y hechos de Pío V. Pontífice Romano, dividida en seis libros (Madrid, 1595): 'A V.m. estoy cierto que será grata esta pintura, donde procuré representar el ánimo de Pío, con más propiedad que elegancia'; sixth page of prologue.

(48) A Literary History of Spain. The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry (London and New York, 1971), 130.

(49) Writing in the Margin. Spanish Literature of the Golden Age (Oxford, 1988), 99.

(50) Amparo de pobres, ed. Michel Cavillac (Madrid: CC, 1975); Guzmán de Alfarache, ed. Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Planeta, 1983). All references are to these editions.

(51) Vida de San Antonio de Padua (Seville, 1604), 'Letor'.

(52) La pícara Justina 2 vols, ed. Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid, 1977); all references are to this edition.

(53) See for example, Joseph L. Laurenti, Estudios sobre la novela picaresca española (Madrid, 1970): 'La mayoría de los críticos concurren en afirmar que esta obra debió ser escrita alrededor de 1575 y dada a la imprenta un par de años después del Guzmán'(4).

(54) Francisco López de Ubeda (Boston, 1977), 148.

(55) 'Elogio, et Allegoria sopra la Vita di Lazzariglio del Torme', in La primera traducción italiana del Lazarillo de Tormes por Giulio Strozzi, ed. Benito Brancaforte and Charlotte Lang Brancaforte (Ravenna, 1977), 33.

(56) Edited by G. Massano (Madrid, 1977), 83 and 88.

(57) 'La desordenada codicia de los bienes agenos - a caso límite of the picaresque?', BHS LV (1978), 34-35.

(58) In Alemán's Segunda parte (Barcelona, 1605) the only hint of painting metaphor occurs, not in the author's prologue, but in the 'elogio' by Luis de Valdés, who states that 'halla cada uno lo que su gusto le pide,

que por tan dificultoso lo pinta Horacio'. It is strange that the dominant retrato metaphor of 1599 should leave no trace in continuations of Guzmán's adventures.

(59) Ed. Samuel Gili Gaya, 2 vols (Madrid: CC, 1969), I, 38.

(60) Edited with the anonymous Segunda parte by Pedro Piñero (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), 263-388. See, for example, the first chapter: 'Donde Lázaro cuenta la partida de Toledo'(273; cf. 362). For 'espejo y dechado' and 'ejemplo y dechado' see 264, 274 and 377. Covarrubias defines 'sobrio' as 'templado', and 'templanza' as 'moderación en cosas y acciones'; Luna's sketch of the 'presunción' inherent in the Spanish character (310-11) undermines his earlier summary of the book's contents. M.J. Thacker has stated that 'Luna's occupation as a teacher of Spanish in Paris was of great importance in the genesis of the novel, and helps to explain the special tone that he adopted and some of the subject-matter', but he does not deal with the apparent irony in Luna's definition of the book as 'espejo y dechado'. See 'Juan de Luna, teacher of Spanish, and the «French picaresque»', Belfast Spanish and Portuguese Papers, ed. P.S.N. Russell-Gebbett, N.G. Round and A.H. Terry (Belfast, 1979), 259-70, especially 259.

(61) 'Décima de Alonso Ledesma' (lines 1-4); Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro 2 vols, ed. Arsenio Pacheco (Madrid: CC, 1975), I, 3 and 5.

(62) See the 'licencia' granted by Juan Fernández de Heredia, where the full title is used, in El buscón, ed. Américo Castro (Madrid: CC, 1960), 5. The conjunction of 'libros de caballerías' and the espejo metaphor was established in the prologue to Tirant lo Blanc (first published in 1490); I quote from the Spanish translation of 1511: 'por eso fue cosa conveniente e muy provechosa reduir [ie. reducir] en escrito las hazañas e historias antiguas de los hombres fuertes y virtuosos, para que sean espejos y muy claros enjemplos y virtuosa dotrina de nuestra vida, según dice aquel orador Cicerón' (ed. Martín de Riquer, 2 vols, Madrid: CC, 1974, I, 3). Cf. Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, Espejo de príncipes y caballeros [Saragossa, 1555], 6 vols, ed. Daniel Eisenberg (Madrid: CC, 1975), I, xxx-xxxii, for the possible sources (and the didactic connotations) of the mirror metaphor in this popular work. For 'espejo muy claro de todos los príncipes y caballeros del mundo', see I, 28, and for the related metaphor of 'estremo de los caballeros', see I, 210 and 222. For Avellanada's quotation of the mirror epithet, see El quijote apócrifo [1617], ed. C. Ayala and J. Uyá (Barcelona, 1968), 36.

(63) Ed. Federico Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: CC, 1957), 6.

(64) 'En este Siglo ingenioso/ espejo al humano ser,/ das claramente a entender/ un desengaño famoso': 'Décima de A.G. de la Coste, en alabanza del autor', in El siglo pitagórico, y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña (Rouen, 1644).

(65) 'El prólogo al Conde de Saldaña', in Jerusalén conquistada [1609], quoted in Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo en el Manierismo (1968), 174.

(66) For example, Cristóbal de Villalón, El scholástico, ed. Kerr (1967), 7; Juan Cortés Tolosa, Discursos morales (Saragossa, 1617), 'Prólogo al letor', third page: 'He hecho con él [parto de mi pobre ingenio] lo que Apeles con su pintura; porque ansí como él puesto detrás de la misma tabla, abrazaba el parecer de aquél que daba el porqué. Ansí yo, [etc]'. For another reference to Apelles and the cobbler in a literary prologue, see Matías de los Reyes, El curial de Parnaso [1624], ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1909), 9-10.

(67) Juan de Mora, Discursos morales (Madrid, 1589), fol. 41^{v}; Lope, La viuda valenciana (1595-1603), ed. José Luis Aguirre (Madrid, 1967), 108.

(68) Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Sucessos y prodigios de amor en ocho novelas ejemplares (Madrid, 1624), fol. 28^{v}.

(69) All references are to the edition of the Manojuelo by E. Mele and A. González Palencia (Madrid, 1942). The prologue is quoted by Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 227-29.

(70) Fiel desengaño 2 vols, ed. Martín de Riquer (Madrid, 1955), I, 28.

(71) Vida de San Antonio de Padua (Seville, 1604): an anonymous sonnet, in Portuguese, describes St. Anthony as 'ezemplo claro'.

(72) Sucessos y prodigios de amor (Madrid, 1624).

(73) Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1972: original French edition, Paris, 1968), 266-68. On the monarch as mirror see, for example, Francisco Santos contemplating the disastrous consequences of a corrupt monarchy: '[los dos príncipes] ciegos en sus vicios dieron lugar a que desenfrenadamente hiciesen lo mismo los vasallos. Desdichado reino donde el espejo en quien todos se miran está quebrado', in La verdad en el potro, ed. J. Rodríguez Puértolas (London: Tamesis, 1973), 198.

(74) Emblemas morales, facsimile edition by Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Madrid, 1978), fols 98 [in fact, 96] $^{r-v}$, 153^{v} and 182^{r}. Compare also fol. 269^{r-v}.

(75) See, for example, Bruno Damiani's observation that the mirror was 'the standard attribute not only of Prudence and Truth but also of Vanity'; he is quoting Erwin Panovsky on Titian, in Montemayor's «Diana», Music and the Visual Arts (Madison, 1983), 40. See also Guy de Tervarent, Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art Profane 1450-1600 (Geneva, 1958), 271-75, where the mirror is listed as an attribute of, in the following order, Prudence, Truth, Pride or Vanity, Lust, Venus, Fortune, and Sight.

(76) 'Cuéntanse los humildes principios del Caballero puntual, y la causa de su perdición', in El caballero puntual (Madrid, 1614), fol. 1^{r}; cf. fol. 11^{v}: 'iremos contando aventuras'. Corrección de vicios (Madrid, 1615): '[El autor] refiere [...] la jornada que hizo'(fol. 1^{r}). Casa de placer honesto (Madrid, 1620): 'Refiérense con brevedad los fundadores de la Casa [...]. Descríbese la primera ostentación que hicieron los fundadores'(fols 1^{r} and 6^{r}).

(77) 'Con tal pluma dibujáis/ vuestra casa de placer,/ (Salas) que dais a entender/ que agudamente pensáis', by Juan de Mesa Villavicencio (lines 1-4).

(78) 'Habiendo yo determinado de formar la idea de un Caballero Perfecto, para proponer en ella un ejemplo imitable, si no en todo en la mayor parte, a la noble juventud de estos Reinos quise, pues estaba a mi elección hacelle descendiente de cuatro familias de las más ilustres de ellos, para que persuadiese con mayor fuerza con la semejanza'(Madrid, 1620), author's prologue. The pairing of 'idea' and 'semejanza' is an interesting feature here.

(79) 'Al vulgo': see above, p. 63, for more on this passage.

(80) In his play, El ausente en el lugar (1604-12, probably 1606), Lope has two characters define a figura, in a way that suggests that the term was topical, if not a novelty, at court: 'Fisberto. Es aquel hombre de aquéllos/ que se llaman en la Corte/ figuras[...]/ Todo hombre cuya persona/ tiene alguna garatusa [ie. histrionic gesture, or ingratiating cajolery],/ o cara que no se usa,/ o habla que no se entona;/ todo hombre cuyo vestido/ es flojo o amuñecado,/ [etc.]/ es en la Corte figura'(Acad.N. XI, 419).

(81) El necio bien afortunado (Madrid, 1621), 'Al necio, y presumido lector'.

(82) Antonio López de Vega: 'Recíbalo [el libro] el que se agradare, como Idea: y el que lo condenare, como sueño', in El perfeto señor: sueño político (Madrid,

1653), 45. For the author's prologue to La Torre de Babilonia (Rouen, 1649), see Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 137-39.

(83) For example: 'Y pues es pintura este entretenimiento nuestro, y la pintura necesita de todo primor, de arte inventiva, debujo y buen ingenio, todo lo ha de llevar nuestro retrato, pintando uno de los muchos simples que pretendo retratar, si me ayuda lo bien colorido del Ticiano y lo inventado de Michel Angelo Bonarota', in La tarasca de parto en el mesón del infierno y días de fiesta por la noche (1672), quoted in Francisco Santos, El no importa de España y La verdad en el potro, ed. J. Rodríguez Puértolas (Támesis, London, 1973), xxxvi-xxxvii. Compare: 'Consoléme, que después de haber visto tanta visión quedaba muy de asiento en el mundo la Verdad y Justicia, con que dije: «No me cansaré más en tomar la pluma para hablar y pintar verdades; adiós para siempre»', in La verdad en el potro (1671), ed. cit., 200.

(84) 'Para pintar una Belleza Zeuzis [sic],/ de las cinco más bellas perfeciones [sic]/ registró mudamente las facciones;/ y copiando lo bello en la pintura,/ fabricó un ramillete a la hermosura./ Vos en cinco Novelas ingenioso,/ fabricáis dulcemente artificioso, [etc.]': 'Silva de Antonio Barbosa Bacelar'. 'Naturaleza vencida [etc.]': 'Epigrama: la afición del licenciado Manuel Pirez d'Almeida, A la industria [del autor]. Both poems in Alonso de Alcalá, Varios effetos de amor en cinco novelas exemplares (Lisbon, 1641).

(85) Prologue to Rimas y prosas (Madrid, 1627), quoted in Porqueras Mayo, El prólogo (1968), 259.

Chapter 3: Retrato and espejo as metaphors in dramatic theory: 1520 - 1635.

The origins of Spanish drama and the creation of the comedia nueva (together with the consolidation of the term comedia) have been the subject of many detailed studies, and I do not propose to go over ground already covered so well by, amongst others, Ronald Surtz and Michael J. Ruggerio.[1] I shall concentrate almost exclusively on the metaphors used by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dramatists and their critics to describe the process and aims of playmaking. As I have already said, I believe that the undeniable shift in metaphors which took place reflected a change in attitude towards the whole business of literature which happened around 1600 in Spain, and which had its effect on drama as well. In this respect, the particular connotations of certain metaphors made them redundant while, as I have suggested, other metaphors which seemed more appropriate came into vogue. A memorial, addressed to Philip the Second in 1598, includes six of these metaphors in a plea for the reinstatement of theatrical productions:

> Pues comenzando por la sustancia de la comedia, ella es espejo, aviso, ejemplo, retrato, dechado y escarmiento de la vida por donde el hombre dócil y prudente puede corregir sus pasiones huyendo de vicios, levantar sus pensamientos aprendiendo virtudes por medio de la demostración, que de todo hay en la comedia.[2]

All of these metaphors, together with others like trasunto, traslado, cifra and símbolo were incorporated, some more frequently than others, into prologues and critical works which explained or evaluated the aims and methods of the

dramatist. There is strong evidence to suggest that by 1620 hitherto important terms like ejemplo and, especially, dechado had faded from the repertoire, while espejo had become associated with the conservative view of drama. Lope's continued endorsement of the speculum vitae formula in this context is especially interesting, and I shall examine that later on.

Examples of specific usage are best treated chronologically (as far as this is possible), and Torres Naharro's proemio of 1517 is a valuable starting point. This writer does not set out to dictate rules, but rather to facilitate comprehension of what he has written. He feels bound to refer briefly to classical theory, and the paragraph he dedicates to this includes Cicero's much-quoted definition of comedy, and yet, at the end of the paragraph, there is more than a hint of an impatient or ironical attitude towards those who reiterate such timeworn (and perhaps outmoded) formulae:

> y como quiere Horacio, cinco actos, y sobre todo que sea muy guardado el decoro, etc. Todo lo cual me parece más largo de contar que necesario de oír.[3]

What Torres Naharro then offers is a sensible personal view of the essential features of comedy, and a workable distinction between two types of comedy:

> A noticia se entiende de cosa nota y vista en realidad de verdad [...]; a fantasía, de cosa fantástiga [sic] o fingida, que tenga color de verdad, aunque no lo sea.(62)

Both fantasía and color were double-edged words in the early sixteenth century, the first denoting both 'imagination' and 'arrogance', the second standing for both 'culpable deceit' and 'acceptable feasibility'. Both words continued to have

these meanings into the seventeenth century, as is demonstrated by Covarrubias' definition of fantasía and by the examples of color quoted above, in Chapter I.[4] The use of color in the context of literary criticism dates back at least to Proaza's evaluation of La Celestina, namely that the book offers its readers 'avisos e consejos' together with 'la gran copia de sentencias entrejeridas, que so color de donaires tiene.'[5] Twenty-five years after the publication of Torres Naharro's plays, Sancho de Muñón was using color in conjunction with the verb pintar (see above, p. 68) to denote truthful representation. It is impossible to know how much specifically pictorial weight there was in Torres Naharro's color de verdad and in Sebastián Fernández' color ridículo (which he used twice: see above, p. 67), but one must assume that at least the germ of later comparisons between theatre and painting existed in these early examples of the color metaphor, and that Torres Naharro's definitions and his choice of terminology were popularized in the nine sixteenth-century editions of the Propalladia (the last in 1573).

The word dechado figures quite frequently in dramatic prologues and epilogues of the sixteenth century, particularly between 1520 and 1550. It is most commonly used in combination with the term labor, thereby preserving its link with embroidery, the original context of the metaphor.[6] Around 1528, Juan Pastor closes his Farsa de Lucrecia with an invitation to the female members of the audience to imitate the example set forth in the play:

¡O mujeres, gran loor
debéis todas juntas dar,
a quien tan rica <u>labor</u>
a luz os quiso sacar!
Donde cierto, sin más ver,
poniendo firme el cuidado,
podéis sacar y coger
mil muestras deste <u>dechado</u>.[7]

Once again, and hardly surprisingly, Alonso de Proaza had used very similar words when commending <u>Las Sergas de Esplandián</u> to the reading public in 1525:

> De donde doctrina de mucho loor
> y grandes ejemplos se pueden tomar
> y pueden las dueñas muy rico sacar
> <u>dechado</u> de aquesta tan rica <u>labor</u>.[8]

In both of these cases <u>rica labor</u> is more likely to refer to the product than the artistic process or creative effort involved; certainly, Covarrubias, writing some eighty years later, emphasizes that in Spanish (and contrary to Latin usage) the term meant the 'opus' and not 'trabajo, fatiga, dificultad'.[9] Nevertheless, <u>Autoridades</u> quotes late sixteenth-century authors to support a wider range of definitions for <u>labor</u>:

> El trabajo, tarea y desvelo diligente que se pone en cualquier cosa [...] Se toma también por la obra que se hace y executa [...] Significa asimismo la buena correspondencia y simetría con que están colocadas algunas cosas.

Since Francisco Delicado refers to his <u>La Lozana andaluza</u> (1528) as 'la presente <u>obra</u>', and states that 'la obra es la que alaba al maestro'(ed. Damiani, 36 and 230), it seems likely that when he uses the word <u>labor</u> he is referring more to the process than to the product (for example, he uses the words <u>labor</u> and <u>laborante</u> in connection with the building of a canal: 204). The words <u>dechado</u> and <u>labor</u> are combined again

in the loa to Palau's Victoria de Christo (mid-sixteenth century); after stating that he will avoid 'los autos lascivos profanos' and deal with 'las cosas que dan salvación', Palau commends the play to the audience in the following terms:

> Siguiendo este orden, y buen parecer
> por ser entre los sabios muy singular,
> queremos Señores aquí recitar,
> una obrecilla de mucho valer:
>
> No es la Ilíada heroica afamada [...]
>
> Mas es una obra muy sublimada;
> al vivo sacada como una pintura,
> de toda la Sacra Divina Escritura
> «Victoria de Christo» por nombre llamada.
> En que demuestra a cuantos querrán
> ver su Escritura, labor, y dechado,
> cómo fue el Reino del Cielo cerrado
> a todos los hombres por culpa de Adán. [...]
>
> Demuestra asimismo con mucho primor,
> aquesta obrecilla, labor, y dechado,
> cómo la culpa de aquel tal pecado
> pagó Jesu-Christo nuestro Redentor.[10]

This play is a dechado because it offers a version of sacred scripture and conveys intimations of the sublime which lead the audience to virtue. Almost exclusively dechado had these 'exemplary' connotations; Covarrubias explains that 'decimos ser dechado de virtud el que da buen ejemplo a los demás y ocasión para que lo imiten', while Autoridades offers a more neutral definition: 'metafóricamente se usa por ejemplo y modelo de virtudes y perfecciones; y también de vicios y maldades', and yet quotes authors to illustrate only the positive aspect of this definition. The only negative use of the word that I have found is Barros' suggestion that Guzmán de Alfarache could, but for his shameful end, serve as a model ('ejemplo y dechado') to would-be sinners.[11]

The comparison with painting in Palau's loa repays closer examination; the line 'al vivo sacada como una pintura' could be read two ways, as emphasizing either the process or the result: that the play has been created in the way a painting is made, by close reference to the original, or that the play looks like a painting because it is so lifelike. The first of these interpretations seems marginally more likely, although the distinction is a fine one. Palau's use of the comparison is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest example in Spanish where a dramatist or comentator makes an explicit analogy between writing a play and painting a picture. The dechado stands for the exemplary nature of the product, while the painting comparison stresses the creative process that leads to a good product, implying a distinction, however slight at this stage, between the moral and the aesthetic criteria according to which a play is to be assessed. To say merely that a play was a dechado or espejo offered no clue about the technique or skill of the dramatist, and therefore it was logical, as these factors became more important, that the creative effort involved should be acknowledged, and this is one of the functions performed by the painting metaphor in this loa and in later writing on the theatre.

In another prologue Palau incorporates the metaphor of the mirror to underline the edifying nature of his play, Custodia del hombre (1547):

> [He invites his audience to]
> sentir y ver los primores
> que aquí a la presente se recitarán
> de donde si quieren muy claro podrán
> dejar las espinas cogiendo las flores.
> Si antiguos gentiles con gran atención

oyeron comedias y sus aparejos
para ejemplarios y humanos espejos
de donde tomaban moral coreción [sic]
no menos parece según la razón
que deba hacer el pueblo cristiano
mirando el espejo divino y humano
con ánimo atento y mucha afición.

[He offers them] claros ejemplos de vuestro vivir.[12]

Here is an early example of the way the three words espejo, claro and ejemplo became closely linked in the evaluating of a play's moral dimension. Covarrubias explains (see note 11 in this chapter) that ejemplo is generally positive in meaning, unless preceded by the adjective mal, and consequently 'claros ejemplos' must mean outstanding or shining examples (compare Fernando de Pulgar's well-known account of the Claros varones de Castilla), or unambiguous examples (compare Juan de la Cueva on the 'claros y evidentes ejemplos' of comedy), or both of these meanings at once: Covarrubias registers claro as an antonym of 'escuro, tenebroso y dificultoso' and as a synonym of 'ilustre'.[13]

The possibility that the audience might be led astray by the racier elements in any work of literature that reflected everyday life inevitably put some strain on the mirror metaphor, with its connotations of untainted purity, and one can observe the tension between these two factors most usefully in the arguments of Italian writers of the sixteenth century, whose contrasting viewpoints have been studied and summarized by Emilio Goggio.[14] For example, Parabosco argued in 1556 that some vulgarity was inevitable if the dramatist intended to expose the worst human vices; the audience should not take offence, since the dramatist was merely fulfilling

'l'officio del comico' (329, note 45). Other writers, in Goggio's opinion 'influenced, no doubt, by the Catholic reaction'(330), argued that audiences were being led astray by the introduction of too many corrupt and vicious characters. Varchi (1569) and Pino da Cagli (1616) lament that the 'mirror' of comedy has been tarnished for this very reason:

> [Varchi:] Non essendo la commedia altro che una immagine, e più tosto specchio della vita cittadina, non si debbe introdurre cosa nessuna dentro, la quale civile e onestissima non sia, e donde, non la licenza di vivere e operare viziosamente, ma di conoscere e ammendare i vizi si possa apparare a cavere esempio.
>
> [Pino da Cagli:] E ben da lo dolersi che lo specchio, che debbe esser chiaro per ornamento di chi il mira, così s'imbruni alle volte, che dove mostrar dovrebbe le virtù per apprenderle rappresenta i vitii per imitarli.(330: notes 53 and 55).

In Varchi's comments più tosto can mean 'sooner, rather, instead', and consequently, as far as he is concerned, a comedy is 'an image, or rather a mirror of city life', and because of the second metaphor (rather than the first) it should remain completely untainted by vulgarity. Once again, in the comments of these two writers we can see the linking of the three words specchio, chiaro and esempio.

The need for the 'mirror' to be pure is implied in the epilogue to Palau's Custodia del hombre (Astorga, 1547), written by Miguel Marco de Daroca; I quote the second of four stanzas:

> Ventaja merece con autoridad
> pues trae debajo de su poesía
> avisos mortales de filosofía
> decahado [ie. dechado] y espejo de pura verdad
> en do muy bien puede nuestra humanidad
> ver en combate apetito y razón[,]
> ver sus costumbres y mal corazón[,]
> ver sus peligros y fragilidad.

Here the purity of the truth presented in the play is transferred by implication to the 'mirror', again (as so often) in combination with dechado. Since sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian theorists preferred to agree that comedy was a mirror, as Cicero said it was, and a mirror should be untarnished, then such a metaphor left no scope for what another writer called 'la sal que hace comer'.[15]

Sebastián de Horozco and Juan Timoneda both use the verb pintar in relation to drama. The first writer explains the problems he experienced in dramatizing the story of Ruth:

> Es historia dificultosa de sacar en limpio para poderse representar al natural. Y ella, de suyo, es larga; y por esto aquí va algo prolija. No se pudo con más brevedad pintar toda ella.[16]

Horozco's apparent preoccupation with realism, expressed in the phrase al natural (and resembling Palau's al vivo) is interesting in the context of a religious play; he includes some lowlife characters, not for any stated naturalistic effect, but 'porque la representación sea más sabrosa y por dar gusto a los oyentes'(175). The phrase 'representar al natural' may mean, alternatively, 'act on the stage, in person' since Horozco seems to be talking about problems of adaptation. He may mean both 'on the stage' and 'realistically', and if he meant the latter the verb pintar was probably chosen quite deliberately as a pictorial metaphor. Timoneda's introduction to his three plays (1559) marks an important development in the terminology of dramatic theory. Here, for the first time, is the phrase 'pintar los vicios', applied to drama, and expressing an idea which remained at the centre of the debate about (firstly) comedy,

and (later) the comedia:

> Cuán apacible sea el estilo cómico para leer puesto en prosa, y cuán propio para pintar los vicios y virtudes (amados lectores) bien lo supo el que compuso los amores d'Calixto y Melibea y el otro que hizo la Tebaida.[17]

The phrase 'vicios y virtudes' suggests balance, and not the one implying the other; there is no apology or justification for 'painting vices'; there is no mirror analogy quoting Cicero or highlighting the moral dimension, nor any mention of dechado or ejemplo; in his prologue Timoneda describes his intention to write plays that were 'breves y representables'. As a publisher, he no doubt knew Lisandro y Roselia and therefore would have been familiar with the words of another publisher, Juan de Junta, to the effect that the writer did not intend to 'alabar [los] vicios, sino que los quiso pintar con sus colores'; it seems likely that Timoneda's verb pintar al least alludes to this debate (discussed above, pp. 67-68) and to painting.

A key role in the development of the retrato analogue was played by Simón Abril with his translations of the comedies of Terence (1577 and 1583), together with the prologues by Donatus. Later on, Vicente Espinel and Villén de Biedma show in their translations of Horace's Arte poética (1591 and 1599, respectively) how far the verb pintar (and the often implied notion of painting) had come to dominate the terminology of the period. The next section will examine the contribution to that process made by these classical writers and, more particularly, by their translators.

We know that the plays of Terence were familiar to all educated people of the period because they were used in

schools, as E.J. Webber explains with particular reference to Spain in the second half of the fifteenth century:

> A reading knowledge of his plays was the mark of an educated man [...] A knowledge of Terence, then, represented an ideal of learning, an accepted symbol of proficiency in the humanities, and no man who claimed to have a whole education could fail to know him well.[18]

Similarly, in sixteenth-century France (as Frederick West has explained) the plays of Terence were, according to Jaques Peletier (writing in 1555), 'entre les mains de chacun'; interestingly, as well, the commentaries by Donatus were studied as closely as the plays themselves, and, as West concludes, 'la popularité de Térence a dû contribuer, d'ailleurs, au succès des Commentaires'.[19] It seems safe to assume that Pedro Simón Abril's decision to publish translations of both plays and commentaries (in 1577 and 1583) made more accessible and popular a collection that was already well known in the Latin original. In the dedication to the 1583 edition Abril explains his two reasons for carrying out the task:

> He traducido las comedias de Terencio: las cuales importan mucho, así para hablar bien Latín, como para reformar la vida humana.('Dedicatoria')

His 1577 prologue conveys the same moralistic view of the function of both drama and history; both are supposed to show, with ejemplos, 'el daño de los vicios y provecho de las virtudes'; the aim ('fin') of drama is to make the audience 'discreto y virtuoso'; any 'liviandades' in Terence will not corrupt school children 'si el que la declara [ie. explains], es hombre discreto, y que lo entiende'; the teacher will take out ('sacar') persuasive reasons and ejemplos to lead his

students away from sin.[20] In terms of the aims of drama, Abril's statements represent the standard conservative view that comedy was a morally corrective form of literature.

The two areas where Abril's work is both original and influential are his translations of Donatus' commentaries and his own commentary when one from Donatus is lacking. He translates the three-part definition of comedy attributed to Cicero, and then Livio Andrónico's variation on it, namely that 'la comedia es el espejo de la vida ordinaria'(1577 edition: 'de la tragedia y la comedia', fol. 17^{r}). His choice of words to render the original Latin is particularly interesting in the following passage:

> Porque así como puestos con atención al espejo [nam ut intenti speculo], entendemos las verdaderas figuras por sus retratos fácilmente [veritatis lineamenta facile per imagines coligimos], así también por la lición de la comedia damos fácilmente en la cuenta de la imitación y costumbres de la vida.(1577 edition, fol. 18^{r})

His choice of <u>figuras</u> for the Latin <u>lineamenta</u>, and <u>retratos</u> for <u>imagines</u> indicates more than just a personal preference. Covarrubias does not include <u>lineamento</u> in his <u>Tesoro</u>, but he does note the common religious application of <u>imagen</u>:

> Comúnmente entre fieles católicos llamamos imágenes las figuras que nos representan a Cristo Nuestro Señor, a su benditísima Madre [...], a sus apóstoles y a los demás santos y los misterios de nuestra Fe. [...] En cuanto imágenes sinifican las efigies de hombres, verás la palabra retrato.

Bearing this in mind, we can see that Abril's choice of <u>retrato</u> was particularly appropriate, not least because Donatus was referring to 'images' of men in everyday situations. One might also safely speculate that in classroom analysis of Donatus' words, the word <u>retrato</u> (rather than

imagen) would probably have been used to translate the Latin imagines.

In both editions of the comedies, Abril translates what he calls 'los argumentos de Aelio Donato sobre las seis comedias de Terencio', and in each case he supplies his own argumento to Heautontimorumenos, because one from Donatus was missing. With reference to The Eunuch, he uses retrato for the Latin characterem in the following example:

> El tercer acto nos representa el retrato [characterem exprimit] de un soldado y de un truhán, por un coloquio muy de reír.(1583 edition, fol. 320^{v})

Again, why retrato and not carácter? According to Covarrubias carácter was not usable in this context, but meant instead the mark made on things to identify them or the sign of baptism.[21] The modern word carácter was represented at that time by the words condición and naturaleza (see Covarrubias on naturaleza), so why did Abril not choose these words? One must conclude that he chose retrato because it was the word that was in vogue or coming into vogue in connection with the notion of the literary and dramatic image. When composing, rather than translating, Abril uses a range of verbs to explain what the dramatist is doing:

> Tiene en fin [esta comedia] toda la disciplina de una casa, [...] representada al vivo con ejemplos y esperiencia [...] En la persona de Chremes pinta Terencio muy sabiamente las costumbres de los necios pero a su parecer prudentes. En la de Menedemo dibuja los afectos de su padre muy benigno para con su hijo: y en Clinia declara los hechos de un mancebo de bien y de vergüenza [...] en la de Syro muestra las mañas de un siervo [...] en la de Antiphila propone una buena crianza. (1577 edition, fols 157^{r}-160^{r})

Abril was clearly looking to vary his verbs, hence the range of synonyms; in this sense pintar, dibujar and representar al

vivo are just variations; however, the combination of dibujar los afectos is something of a novelty, for although debujar had been employed in literary criticism since Alonso de Proaza's comments on La Celestina (see above, p. 88), it was used in combinations like 'debujar los engaños' and 'debujar sabrosa doctrina' rather than denoting the 'sketching' of emotions. To judge by the available evidence, such applications of the verb became more popular later on, as when Gonzalo de Céspedes introduces his Historias peregrinas y ejemplares (1623) to the reader with the words 'En una y otra protesto dibujarte el alma de la historia, su verdad efectiva'.[22] Here, as in the case of Abril's afectos or 'emotions', the soul is being 'sketched', albeit in a figurative sense.

Abril's contribution to dramatic criticism can be summed up in the following way: his Spanish translation of both comedies and commentaries would have helped to make a familiar text more available and accessible. His own views and those of Donatus would have reinforced the prevailing notion that comedy (and by extension drama) had a specific moral purpose, while his choice of terminology to translate his Latin original and his own argumento to one play would have served to popularize specific words, and among those pintar, dibujar and, especially, retrato were perceived by him as suitable and appropriate for use in dramatic criticism.

Horace's famous phrase ut pictura poesis (in Espinel's version 'es como la pintura la poesía') was subjected to a series of more or less accurate interpretations and made to

constitute the basis for a whole range of comparisons between poetry and painting.[23] Horace himself uses some painting verbs when explaining what the poet does, and these (together with Aristotle's comparisons between the two arts) no doubt reinforced the sixteenth-century habit of discussing poetry (and by extension drama) in terms of painting. The two Spanish translations of Horace's Ars poetica, by Espinel (pub. 1591) and by Villén de Biedma (pub. 1599), performed a function similar to that of Abril's version of Terence, in that they made a well-known classical source book more accessible.[24] What pertains most to my research is their choice of words to render the Latin into Spanish, and one passage in particular illustrates the predominance of the verb pintar; I quote from Espinel's version, with the original Latin (lines 9-30) in square brackets:

> Poder tienen Pintores, y Poetas
> de osar acometer cualquiera cosa.
>
> Cuando se pinta [describitur] de Diana el Templo,
> la corriente del agua presurosa;
> el bosque espeso, o cuando el pluvial Arco se pinta
>
> [describitur].
> Pero ¿qué importa?, que el pintarlo
> ya fuera de ocasión, y propio tiempo
> [Sed nunc non erat his locus].
> Y como aquel Pintor sabéis acaso
> sólo un ciprés pintar [simulare], y no otra cosa,
> ¿qué habéis de responder al que os lo paga,
> porque un naufragio le pintáis [pingitur].
>
> Quien prodigiosamente alguna cosa
> pretende encarecer, pinta [appingit] en las selvas
> algún Delfín.(2-3)

Comparison with a modern English version shows how much Espinel has mauled the syntax; for my purposes his meaning is not as important as his exclusive recourse to the verb pintar.

Covarrubias does not have simular, but he has descrevir and it was quite frequently used in this context, as for example in Juan de la Cueva's El viaje de Sannio of 1585 (see below, p. 162). Other options were contrahacer and fingir, which often described the creative process. From the evidence, it seems that Espinel and Villén de Biedma (who used pintar to a comparable extent) chose the verb that was in vogue, and in so doing added to that 'pictorial' trend in the descriptive analysis of poetry and drama, which (as we have seen) was a feature of the Spanish literary scene in the period from around 1590 onwards.

Of Juan de la Cueva, E.S. Morby has said that '[his] contributions to Spanish literary criticism tend to be unoriginal', and that he represents a microcosm of the Spanish struggle between Ancients and Moderns, at one moment repeating the lessons of the classical theorists and at the next defending the incipient comedia which defies those lessons.[25] Certainly his use of the retrato and espejo metaphors is largely unoriginal. In the 1584 introduction to his plays he translates Donatus verbatim on Cicero's definition of comedy and on the moral aims of the genre, which must offer 'claros y evidentes ejemplos'; a commendatory poem by Miguel Díaz de Alarcón uses the verb pintar to imply that Cueva 'paints' in his plays, but apart from this there is no hint of changing terminology.[26] In 1585 Cueva still defines comedy and tragedy as distinct forms of drama:

> De la vida humana
> es la comedia espejo, luz y guía,
> de la verdad pintura soberana;
> en ella se describe la osadía

del mozo, la cautela de la anciana
alcagüeta, las burlas de juglares
y sucesos de hombres populares.
[...]
[la poesía trágica]
es un retrato que nos va poniendo
delante de los ojos los presentes
males de los mortales miserables,
en héroes, reyes, príncipes notables.[27]

Most of this is standard and derivative, but his choice of certain words raises questions; the combination of luz and guía with the traditional espejo emphasizes the puristic and moral connotations of the mirror analogue, which I have already explored; the use of describir harks back perhaps to Horace and suggests that Cueva is not thinking along pictorial or 'painterly' lines. The phrase 'de la verdad pintura' translates Cicero's 'imago veritatis', but replaces the retrato of the previous year's version with the less expected pintura. The combination of pintura soberana fulfils the double function of rhyming with humana and also of qualifying pintura with an adjective that was used quite often to denote high quality in art (see above, pp. 37 and 44-45). The adjective soberana tallies with the exemplary connotations of espejo, luz and guía, but not with the lowlife action of comedy, as envisaged by Cueva. He has made the statement some forty lines earlier that 'la pintura imita en sutileza a la naturaleza ingeniosa' as part of the ut pictura poesis debate; furthermore, the description of tragedy as a retrato, although sanctioned (as it were) by Aristotle's painting comparisons, is uncommon in Spain at this time. The traditional distinction between comedy and tragedy which he reiterates signals Cueva's link to the past, as does his strongly

moralistic view of comedy, while his variations on the painting metaphor may be an experimental response to terminology that we now know was beginning to come into fashion.

In 1587 Cueva states that tragedy and comedy are indistinguishable, that men of high and low status 'en ambos se representan', that tragedy and comedy have the same cloth ('paño') and livery ('librea') and that this is the way things are going: 'van de aqueste modo las cosas'.[28] However, he chooses not to draw the comparison with painting which he had used two years before. In the same collection of romances he later implies a distinction between comedy and tragedy when he speaks of 'la fábula fingida de la risueña Comedia', and states that comedy deals with ordinary people and ends in laughter.[29] He compares the strict requirements of the romance, which allows no artificio, afeite, ficiones de poesía or invención, with the almost complete freedom to order ('disponer') and invent in other genres ('argumentos'), including comedy:

> No hay cosa que les impida
> de poder invencionar
> de modo que sea vestida
> la obra, con todo aquello
> que la adorna, y atavía,
> que al Poeta, y al Pintor
> es licencia concedida
> de poder ataviar
> sus obras, y revestillas,
> con el matiz, y color
> con que mejor se matizan,
> sin guardar decoro a nada,
> más que a ornallas, y a pulillas.[30]

The notion of licence to invent shared with painting comes directly from Horace: 'the right to take liberties of almost

any kind has always been enjoyed by painters and poets alike'.[31] Cueva's original contribution lies in his application of painting words, color and (more especially) matiz, to the creation of comedy, and shows that he may have been moving towards a new descriptive terminology while at the same time vacillating between modern and traditional theoretical standpoints.

In his Ejemplar poético (1606) Cueva states, on the one hand, that each new age requires new approaches to the theatre and that 'nuestras comedias' are superior to those of the past, and on the other, that comedy and tragedy are distinct forms, thereby reverting once more to the traditional view:

> La comedia es retrato del gracioso
> y risueño Demócrito, y figura
> la tragedia de Heráclito lloroso.
> Tuvo imperio esta alegre compostura
> hasta que Tifis levantó el estilo
> a la grandeza trágica y dulzura.[32]

He seems to be referring to the symbolic masks of tragedy and comedy, and in this context retrato and figura denote facial images. Figura, besides serving here as a variation on the retrato metaphor and setting up the rhyme with compostura and the awkwardly-placed dulzura, conveyed the literal idea of 'face' as well as the metaphorical idea of 'format' or 'guise' (see Covarrubias on figura).

To sum up: Cueva's practice in the theatre constituted a break with the past, and he knew it.[33] For some reason he was never able to commit himself to a modern theoretical approach to the comedia and renounce the distinctions of the past. As for the words he used, the evidence indicates several things: firstly, that he does not use the espejo metaphor after 1585,

and, secondly, that he starts to explore synonyms of retrato and words related to painting from 1585 onwards. Margarete Newels sees the late sixteenth century in Spain as a period of fermentation in literary theory:

> En efecto, bien se puede inferir del gran número de pequeños tratados que existía vivo interés por cuestiones de crítica y de estética literarias. [...] Esta sustanciosa producción crítica y teórica había sido estimulada por el florecimiento de la literatura en general, y muy particularmente por el del teatro, que exigía a su vez una confrontación con la teoría. [...] La comparación entre las artes plásticas y la poesía era corriente desde Horacio, Aristóteles y Plutarco y vino a desempeñar un papel no despreciable en la defensa de la comedia española durante el siglo XVII.[34]

In the various theoretical writings of Juan de la Cueva one can observe new approaches confronting but not yet eclipsing traditional standpoints, and one can also detect the germs of the pictorial terminology which came eventually to form such an important theoretical framework for the definition of the comedia. The exploration of new terminology which was evidently taking place is also illustrated by Cervantes, who (writing around 1584) describes his play El trato de Argel as 'este trasunto de la vida de Argel y trato feo'.[35] Covarrubias does not include trasunto, but Autoridades defines it as a synonym of copia and traslado, adding that 'metafóricamente vale figura o representación, que imita con propriedad alguna cosa'. Cervantes' choice of metaphor (to rhyme with junto in his epilogue) is not taken up by anyone else. The verbal structures sacar trasunto and trasuntar, although surviving as synonyms for copiar, were passed over by poets and dramatists in favour of the painting metaphor.

Although we know that the five tragedies of Cristóbal Virués were composed between 1579 and 1590, there is still uncertainty about when he composed the prologues and epilogues which accompanied them in the printed text of 1609. John Weiger, in his study of Virués, implies that in his view the prologues and epilogues to the individual plays may have been composed in the 1580s while the main prologue to his Obras dates from around 1609.[36] Both Virués and Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola modelled their prologues and epilogues on those of Giraldi Cinthio, which had been published along with the Italian's tragedies by the 1580s; there is no reason why Virués' prologues and epilogues to individual plays could not have been composed in the 1580s, rather than the period leading up to their publication in 1609.

In the epilogue to La cruel Casandra Virués makes an unusual and puzzling statement about the design of that play:

> Tragedia. Aunque sacadas con cuidado sean
> las cosas que hoy os he representado
> de las que pasan entre los que emplean
> en palacio su tiempo y su cuidado,
> sepan los que de verme se recrean
> que es como de lo vivo a lo pintado,
> y así por lo que pinto aquí, lo vivo
> se entienda ser en término ecesivo [sic]. (91b)

The meaning of the last three lines is not immediately clear, and may include a sort of pun. To take first the phrase 'de lo vivo a lo pintado': this was normally employed to denote disadvantage and not just difference, in the sense that the painted image could not hope to match the original. This is the context in which it is used by Miguel Sánchez de Lima, writing around 1580:

> El arte, cuyo efecto es suplir la falta de naturaleza: porque puesto que lo natural se aventaje tanto a lo artificial, como se aventaja lo vivo a lo pintado, y que lo uno juntamente con lo otro, sería muy perfecto.[37]

Similarly, Sebastián de Horozco employs the phrase in a poem which is intended to express the disappointment of an artist who has failed to match the beauty of his sitter, and to flatter the lady in the process:

> Por más que yo quise en esta figura
> mi ingenio y arte al propio mostrar
> no me fue posible poder retratar
> lo sumo qu'en ella pintó la natura.
> Es tan extraña su tal hermosura
> que cierto de cerca su gesto mirado
> es como de vivo a lo qu'es pintado
> lo lindo que veis en esta pintura.[38]

In the early seventeenth century, Andrés de Claramonte built a play around the phrase, linking it with the convention of <u>amor por el retrato</u> (see below, pp. 345-48), while the following examples from 1584 and 1629 show its proverbial applications:

> Así como difiere lo pintado de lo vivo, o el cuerpo del ánima: así difieren los trabajos spirituales[<u>sic</u>] de los corporales.
>
> Del ejemplo a las palabras va la diferencia que de lo vivo a lo pintado.[39]

If Virués used the words deliberately to convey the sense of disadvantage, then he may have meant to surprise and amuse his audience (or readers) by implying that his play was a pale copy of reality, before investing <u>vivo</u> and <u>pintado</u> with his own specific meanings. A second possibility is that for Virués the phrase merely suggested vast difference, and not inequality; by the 1730s the emphasis seems to have moved in this direction, when <u>Autoridades</u> explains that it is a 'frase con que se explica y manifiesta la grande diferencia que hay

de una cosa a otra'. Virués may therefore be explaining that real life and his play are two very different things. Whichever interpretation one favours (and both meanings may have been intended simultaneously), the phrase has been used to stress difference and not similarity. This is unexpected, since the painting analogy was normally invoked to emphasize the close correspondence between drama (most commonly, comedy) and life.

The phrase 'en término excesivo' which Virués links with 'pintar lo vivo' in order to describe his play (and which is probably intended to apply to all of his plays) has provoked different interpretations. In a penetrating analysis of Virués' development, William Atkinson concluded that the epilogue to La cruel Casandra was 'saying simply that the play is a transcript this time of the depravity of courts'.[40] More recently, John Weiger has worked from a rendering of 'en término excesivo' as 'excessively contrived' to the following conclusion:

> [We can see] in the epilogue a clear recognition by the poet of his own excesses, which is to say that he was conscious of the very matters for which he was subsequently faulted by so many critics. To the extent that he knowingly presented 'examples of virtue...by its opposite, vice' in a manner 'excessively contrived', the arguments for an intuitive sense of the theatre of the absurd may be seen as that much more valid.(Cristóbal de Virués, 122-23)

Both lines of argument may be right, but there is an alternative. The term exceso was a synonym of hipérbole and encarecimiento in the field of rhetoric, without the pejorative connotations that the notion of excess had (and still has) in everyday speech. In his valuable study of

rhetorical theory in the Siglo de Oro, José Rico Verdú lists some thirty five references to passages in various handbooks where the term hipérbole is explained, and confirms that other synonyms for exceso were superlación, acrecentamiento and amplificación.[41] Covarrubias gives excessus as one of three Latin synonyms for hypérbole [sic], and explains that 'es en romance encarecimiento y exageración grande de alguna cosa', while Herrera's definition of hipérbole provides a fuller explanation:

> Los Romanos le dieron por nombre superlación, o eceso, o crecimiento, que sobrepuja la verdad por causa de acrecentar o deminuir [sic] alguna cosa. O como siente Escalígero [:] es eceso y sobra que denota redundancia; cuando levantamos una cosa con circuito de cosas, o con mayor naturaleza que la suya propria. Podemos llamalla en nuestra lengua engrandecimiento.[42]

The rhetorical technique of hipérbole was defined variously as '[un] género de amplificación' with examples like 'más furioso que tempestad', and as a permissible lie or 'mentira admitida por encarecimiento, y no por mentira' with the example of 'la mano más blanca que la nieve'.[43] The most complete explanation of the term that I have found is by Juan de Robles (writing around 1631), who uses exceso as a synonym for hipérbole; his definition of the term and then of its component parts deserves to be quoted in full:

> Es, pues, este tropo un encarecimiento o acrecentamiento mentiroso que hacemos muy de ordinario a la verdad para ponderarla: y así, aunque aquella parte no sea como la decimos, no es mentira, porque no pretendemos engañar [...] Y así, se hace esto tan lícitamente, que lo usa la divina Escritura en muchos lugares. Algunos autores dicen que ha de tener este acrecentamiento alguna medida: porque, aunque sea fuera de crédito, no ha de ser fuera de modo. Yo he gastado muchas horas en buscar la explicación de esto, y no la he hallado ni escrita ni por mi discurso: porque si en realidad de verdad es el exceso que hacemos mentiroso, no sólo no puede tener

> modo [...], mas antes dice el refrán que la mentira y la torta mientras mayor mejor, [...] Y así digo, conforme a mi sentimiento que la hipérbole ha de tener tres cosas para ser buena. La primera, que caiga sobre verdad de exceso, de forma que diciendo: Fulano es un gigante, sea verdad que es más alto que los otros hombres. La segunda, que se haga por comparación de cosas semejantes [...] La tercera, que sea el exceso por línea recta de la causa o los efectos [...] así, sería muy linda hipérbole, y mientras mayor mejor, porque no por fanfarrona es dañosa, sino acomodada.[44]

Seen in the light of rhetorical hyperbole, Virués' phrase 'en término excesivo' takes on a whole new dimension. Rather than an admission of creative flaws, it is a statement of rhetorical technique. Scholars have highlighted the profound influence of Seneca on Virués, Cueva, Argensola and other tragedians, and Wickersham Crawford, while drawing attention to specific features which were derived from Seneca, suggests that the plays by the Spanish tragedians 'were composed solely for the sake of long disquisitions on moral subjects', and that Seneca's tragedies were valued by Renaissance scholars largely for their philosophical content.[45] Experts in the field concur in seeing Seneca as a crucial rhetorical model for Virués, Cueva and their fellow tragedians. The evidence indicates that rhetorical amplification and moral edification were the two principal criteria in an evaluation of tragedy, and that dramatic action was a secondary consideration; the brief comments by Lomas Cantoral on tragedy (1578) show where the critical emphasis lay:

> ¿A quién no mueve la imitación de los trágicos que sucedieron después, los cuales con dulcísimos números imitan los hechos de los varones illustres, y con su doctrina moderan y conforman sus ánimos y costumbres?[46]

The term número was synonymous with frasis [or phrasis], which Covarrubias defines as 'modo de hablar, elegancia en el

decir'.[47] Stylistic considerations predominate in Alonso Higuera's comments on the tragedies of Bermúdez, which were published in 1577:

> Y dejado aparte que en ellas no hay cosa contra nuestra fe, ni malsonante, sino cosas muy graves, y sentencias provechosas. (aunque es verdad que grandes encarescimientos como el estilo trágico requiere) paréceme que es obra digna que se imprima.[48]

He goes on to say that Bermúdez has outdone his Greek and Roman models (Seneca) 'en la verdad del argumento', and that he can compete with them 'en la majestad del estilo, variedad de figuras, gravedad de sentencias, y muchedumbre de afectos'. Higueras' unambiguous reservations concerning rhetorical hyperbole indicate an awareness that this sort of style, while appropriate to tragedy, was somehow at odds with the prevailing tastes of the reading and theatre-going public. The transition from declamation and lengthy reports of events to the presentation of more action onstage is summarized by Cervantes in El rufián dichoso (pub. 1615), where Comedia states that 'ya representó mil cosas, no en relación, como de antes, sino en hecho'.[49]

In the prologue to La gran Semíramis Virués makes his only other explicit comparison between drama and painting; the painter ('sabio pintor') depicts the great deeds of the past to inspire viewers to virtuous action: 'para dechado de las almas nobles'; in the same way, the dramatic poet ('con divino ingenio') presents the miserable consequences of human evil ('las miserias que traen nuestros pechos') as an example ('todo para un ejemplo') designed to awaken the soul from its

sinful sloth and to foster the pursuit of virtue (PDV I, 25a-b). In the epilogue to the same play Virués claims to have offered examples ('ilustre ejemplo') of both virtue and vice (57b), and this is in fact the case: the virtuous characters survive the evil ones to build a new order, while even Semíramis is not all bad. The comparison with the painting of heroic deeds, which does not quite come off in the prologue, holds good for the play as a whole. The mood of other plays is quite different. The ethos of La cruel Casandra is correctly described by Virués as one where 'en el mundo [anda] acosada la virtud por el vicio, su enemigo'(PDV I, 59a); here the two virtuous characters cannot compete with the forces of evil, and, like Marcela and Oronte in La infelice Marcela, are crushed without our having witnessed their virtue in action. While La infelice Marcela offers 'notables trágicos ejemplos' and the author invites his audience to grasp 'la verdad que en mí notáis fingida'(PDV I, 145b), La cruel Casandra is said to present 'ejemplos de virtud (aunque mostrados tal vez por su contrario el vicio)'(PDV I, 59a). William Atkinson quite rightly questioned Virués' claims that these last two plays were morally edifying, and saw the gradual intensification of arbitrary horror as part of 'the progressive attenuation of legitimate tragic appeal in his drama'.[50]

As Donald Stone has pointed out, in relation to French sixteenth-century tragedy, it was the influence of rhetoric, and particularly oratory, that contributed significantly to this distortion of Aristotle's concept of the flawed tragic hero:

> Oratory preached about qualities, guilt, innocence, vice and virtue; to mix them as indeed Aristotle suggested when urging that the tragic hero be neither too evil nor too good was to complicate dangerously one's case. [...] Scaliger's definition of the uniform purpose in literature and oratory shows that the sixteenth century was more disposed toward rhetoric's simplification of character in order to persuade than toward the kind of aesthetic considerations that brought Aristotle to define the tragic hero as he did.[51]

The orator had to learn the appropriate way to depict individuals, and this meant viewing character in terms of moral truths, whereby it was the property of a good man and an evil man to act rightly and wrongly, respectively. To persuade listeners to embrace virtue and shun sin the orator was expected to employ techniques of amplification, as well as ornamentation. Donald Stone goes on to stress the extent to which the Jesuits, in particular, viewed tragedy as an ideal means of teaching eloquence and morals. A Spanish handbook for preachers (composed between 1570 and 1573), the Modo de predicar by Fray Diego de Estella, has already been mentioned. In the sixteenth chapter of that work, the author turns his attention to the portrayal of evil:

> Color retórico es, para reprender algún vicio, buscar algún particular mal que tiene diferente de los otros vicios, porque de esta manera se encarece más la maldad de aquel vicio que reprende, y se descubre más su malicia, para que así, siendo afeado y conocido, sea más aborrecido.[52]

Estella goes on to explain how the preacher should 'exagerar' the sin of pride. In Chapter 24, he returns to the same topic, with the preacher chiding his flock: 'enseñando y alumbrando y exagerando la gravedad del pecado'(125). Shock tactics are the best ones for the preacher's purposes: 'Y por esto se ha de inclinar más el predicador a terrores y espantos

que a blanduras y misericordias'(125). Estella's description of methods and purposes and his choice of terms like encarecer and exagerar are identical to those later used by González de Salas, in relation to tragedy, and similar to those used by Pellicer de Tovar, in relation to the comedia.

In a passage dealing with the portrayal of character, González de Salas begins by quoting Aristotle:

> Ultimamente [Aristóteles] advierte dos preceptos, que son también de importancia para la Moral Exornación, si bien el uno mira con propiedad a los Representantes. Dice pues, que la Expresión de las Costumbres ha de ser Imitada por el Poeta con aquella eminencia y aumento, que los Pinctores[sic] ponen en los retratos: pues procuran que queden parecidos, dejándolos mejorados de como es el original.[53]

Several points should be made here. A marginal note, probably inserted by the author, after 'retratos' refers to Zeuxis' composite painting of ideal beauty from separate human fragments; the degree of 'improvement' implicit in this particular anecdote clashes with the advice of Aristotle, and with his words as quoted immediately afterwards. Aristotle draws the parallel to suggest that just as painters reproduce 'the distinctive appearance of their sitters', so poets should 'bring out [defects of character]'.[54] One's suspicion that González de Salas had archetypal forms of good and evil in mind (as opposed to more naturalistic portrayal) is confirmed by what comes next. The term eminencia, unlike aumento (which was a synonym of acrecentamiento, and a rhetorical variation of amplificación), does not feature in José Rico Verdú's extensive list of rhetorical terms, although Autoridades defines eminentemente as 'excelentemente, con elegancia, propiedad y energía'. The term eminentia was used in Latin by

Cicero, with specific reference to the highlights in a painting, and was probably known to González de Salas in its original context.[55]

Salas now goes on to impute to Aristotle a development of the painting analogy which combines the theory of rhetoric with the practice of Seneca, and which also has a parallel in Horace's advice to 'see to it that Medea is fierce and indomitable'[56]:

> Admirable comparación sin duda, y sin duda también fue ésta la mente de Aristóteles en este precepto. [¿]Pincta el Poeta al avaro? Pues ha de figurar su avaricia, que en cierto modo exceda a su verdad. Ilustre ejemplo es en esta parte el viejo Euclio de la Aululariа de Plauto. [¿]Ha de pinctar el recelo y temor de algún peligro? Dilatará pues la exageración a términos más significativos de aquella pasión: como se percibe en la Andromacha de nuestra Tragedia, cuando procura encubrir a Astianacte. Esto se funda, según yo observo, en una ingeniosa doctrina de nuestro divino Séneca, que él advirtió, había dado origen a las Hipérboles, o Encarecimientos excesivos. Halla este grande varón, 'Que el hombre encarece con mentira, para que a la verdad se venga a dar crédito'.(74)

This writer then illustrates the rhetorical concept of hyperbole with examples which closely parallel those offered by Juan de Robles (quoted above), and concludes that the poet who used such a technique 'excedió así de lo que podía ser, para que se llegase a creer lo sumo, que era posible'(74). The terms used by González de Salas echo those employed by Virués in an identical context: we can see from términos más significativos and encarecimientos excesivos that the combination términos excesivos would precisely describe what González de Salas has in mind. Virués promises to offer his audience 'lo vivo' and 'la verdad' (see above, pp. 166 and 172); the rhetorical technique of exceso is intended to make

that truth more believable (hence González de Salas' insistence on dar crédito and creer).

For González de Salas, as for Pellicer de Tovar, words like pintar and colores convey rhetorical and moral overtones rather than purely pictorial ideas. González de Salas states that 'en la Tragedia es la Exornación [ie. rhetorical embellishment] Moral, lo que en la Pinctura los colores; y lo que en la Pinctura el dibujo, es en la Tragedia la Fábula'(70). Colour and moral purpose are similarly linked in his short work, El Theatro scénico:

> Pinctada veis en mí [ie. the theatre] vuestra maldad con vivos colores, y lo que es aún para mayor estima, el fin también podréis advertir, que inevitable siempre le constituye el Hado; para que previniendo el escarmiento, mejoréis las costumbres.[57]

From this and other examples in El Theatro scénico it would seem that González de Salas considered all drama as a representation of human defects, evil and ugliness.[58] It has been said that Seneca's plays 'are not concerned with the moral conflict between good and evil which is the essence of true tragedy', and that Seneca 'only recognizes the power of evil to destroy good'.[59] For Virués and González de Salas, the neo-Senecan and 'hyperbolic' representation of human degradation constituted a sound basis for tragedy. González de Salas uses some of the vocabulary which Tirso, Barreda and others had already used to define the comedia in the 1620s (words like figurar, imagen verdadera, vivamente retratado) and also the metaphor of the mirror, which (as I shall show) was synonymous with outmoded, conservative attitudes; he also uses the fashionable verb mentir, and the increasingly popular

metaphor of the epítome.[60] But his strong emphasis on the moral dimension of dramatic representation places his use of topical terminology at some distance from Barreda's retrato fiel (see below, p. 206).

When José Pellicer de Tovar comes to define the comedia in 1635 he takes as his first precept the didactic function which all dramatists should adhere to, and his use of the words pintar, color, elocuencia and energía indicates that his painting metaphors have more to do with rhetoric than art:

> Y así debe procurar el artífice en su contexto que saquen escarmiento, y no ejemplo, de las acciones malas, ejemplo y no escarmiento de las acciones buenas; para lo cual conviene que apure los colores a la elocuencia, y pinte los vicios tan feos, describa los delitos tan abominables, y represente las culpas tan horribles, que [...] todo linaje de gentes, los cobren horror y no deseo.[61]

This passage could have been lifted from Estella's Modo de predicar, and could stand alongside the statements made by Virués. The emphasis on rhetorical effects in what follows reinforces the link with oratory:

> Debe el poeta cuidar muy atento de ensalzar las virtudes morales, engrandecer los hechos generosos, sublimar la clemencia [...], adornando sus períodos con toda la eficacia, con toda la energía y todo el aparato de voces y conceptos de que es capaz el idioma español, tanto que despierte con furor divino en los oyentes un fervor activo de imitar aquello que mira.(84)

In a study of Pellicer's Idea de la comedia, Porqueras Mayo and Sánchez Escribano imply that the author was responding to the long-standing (and ongoing) campaign against the theatre when he gave his first and key tenet such a strong moral dimension.[62] This may be true; what is certain is that apologists for the comedia did have to address and resolve this issue by, at the very least, accepting (as distinct from

asserting) that drama was designed to impart moral lessons. As the two modern scholars rightly maintain, 'el moral [era un] presupuesto necesario en la sociedad de la época para la existencia de un género literario'(143). It seems to me, however, that they make several questionable points; firstly, they imply that Pellicer uses the term espejo de costumbres when in fact he does not. At the same time, they do (rightly, in my opinion) see the espejo de costumbres element of Cicero's original three-part definition of comedy as 'el elemento más estricta y «prácticamente» moral'(143). Pellicer's strong emphasis on techniques akin to preaching would certainly have tallied with the puristic connotations of the mirror metaphor which was still enshrined in conservative dramatic theory (see below, pp. 205 and 210); the fact that he makes no reference to the espejo is therefore surprising. His short treatise is a curious mixture of rigid, old-fashioned attitudes (for example, his strict view of the unity of time, which Porqueras Mayo and Sánchez Escribano describe as a 'consejo absurdo y retrógrado') and forward-looking advice which seems based on observation of what has proved effective on the stage. Perhaps he was aware that apologists for the comedia just did not use the mirror metaphor any longer but preferred instead to draw comparisons with painting; he uses the verb pintar twice to denote the notion of character portrayal, and makes an explicit (albeit minor) reference to painting.[63]

A second point made by Porqueras Mayo and Sánchez Escribano in relation to Barreda's influence on Pellicer seems to me to

need some clarification; while they link the two works with one example, the statement that Barreda's was 'un importante tratado que consideramos el precedente inmediato de Pellicer'(140) implies significant influence. Barreda uses painting comparisons extensively, with a heavy emphasis on fidelity to nature and on decorum (propiedad), but he warns specifically against the tendentious distortion of evil:

> [No] hay para qué el teatro se haga tribunal o púlpito, en siglo que es tan dichoso en lo uno y en lo otro. Basta que aconseje como amigo, sin que amenace como juez. Y no sé si puede más el apacible semblante de aquél que el horrible de éste.[64]

In their overall approach to the didactic techniques of drama Barreda and Pellicer were clearly some distance apart. In this respect, Pellicer's standpoint represents a throwback to the methodology endorsed by Virués, Cueva, Argensola and others; Pellicer wants what is 'horrible' and 'abominable' on the stage, while Barreda specifically questions the moral efficacy of 'el semblante horrible'. Flecniakoska summarized the rationale behind the neo-Senecan approach:

> Ce goût pour l'horrible n'est pas gratuit. Il correspond à un désir d'enseignement moral. La tragédie se doit de mettre en lumière le paroxysme des passions violentes et parfois monstrueuses pour inciter le public à les fuir ou à se purger de ses mauvais instincts.[65]

William Atkinson suggested that the neo-Senecan emphasis on horror and ever-increased revulsion carried within itself its own destruction as a theatrical device, together with the risk of ridiculum, and therefore bathos.[66] Raymond MacCurdy has demonstrated that in practice Senecan-style horror remained an occasional feature of the comedia.[67] As far as theory and didactic methodology were concerned, pintar en término

excesivo, formulated by Virués in the 1590s, and encarecimientos excesivos, expounded by González de Salas in 1633 (one suspects, under the influence of 'el tres veces grande y divino Séneca'), constituted an approach to the business of theatre which was superseded in the first quarter of the seventeenth century by new aesthetic criteria. The need for exceso was acknowledged and defended, but in costume and performance rather than in the distorted presentation of human evil; around 1600 the notion of exceso becomes one of several focal points for defenders and detractors of the comedia:

> Y si no sólo en los trajes hay exceso, mas en las representaciones, no por eso tiene culpa la comedia, pues el estilo que hay en estos reinos muy guardado es que la comedia sea en verso, y como por este camino se le quita al representante el albedrío de decir lo que quiere [etc.]
>
> La segunda razón que alegan en favor de las comedias, es que aunque haya exceso en el ejercicio de los actos humanos, no por eso se han de prohibir si no son de suyo ilícitos.[68]

A clue to what exceso meant in these contexts is provided by the assertion made in defence of the comedia that actors should wear impressive clothes and that there is a need for brío since 'sus actos son festivos'(Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 1904, 423b). Here the emphasis is on visual grandeur and gestural exaggeration rather than on rhetorical and morally-charged hyperbole.

Returning to my starting point - Virués and his definition of his drama as pintar lo vivo en término excesivo, it seems safe to conclude that he coined this formula in response to several possible factors: the gathering popularity of painting

analogies (as demonstrated in the statements of Juan de la Cueva) and the urge (or the need) to explain, and perhaps justify, a type of drama that was going (or had gone) out of fashion in the face of powerful competition from a new type of theatre which combined the comic with the tragic, and which sought to reflect, in however stylized a manner, the variety of life: the comedia nueva, which its exponents and supporters advertised as both a vivo retrato and a retrato fiel.

If there ever existed in contemporary literary circles a wholly coherent formula for the comedia nueva, modern research has not yet identified it and seems unlikely to do so.[69] The degree to which dramatists set out to idealize or to render faithfully the characters and social activity they observed around them is a matter of continuing debate. For some scholars the comedia is viewed as a tool for state propaganda (with the attendant risk of idealization and distortion), while others stress that dramatists like Lope set out to portray the tensions which, we now know, existed between social classes and, by extension, to question and even subvert the status quo (by dramatizing marriages between couples from different classes, for example, or exploring the comic potential of the nobility and even of royalty).[70] What we think the playwrights were doing and their view of their intentions must be constantly checked against each other, and in this context the migration and relative fortunes of critical analogues is a field of study that yields, if not conclusive, at least valuable clues. Jack Parker has indicated the contradictions which result as one seeks to

define the aims of the dramatists:

> The Lopean theatre [...] was an idealized portrayal of the seventeenth-century Spaniard, made dramatic and intensified for stage purposes, but whether the play was one of contemporary life, or historical in its setting and background, the Spanish audience was seeing itself as it would like to be.[71]

The same scholar admits that this interpretation of the comedia must be reconciled with the canons of realism and verisimilitude:

> Naturalness continues to be the dramatist's watchword in this connection; to make his plays as true to life as possible [...] This likeness of truth, however, permits a wide interpretation, for things may appear, not necessarily as they are, but as they may be found to be.(116 and 118)

The comedia quite clearly contained examples of both idealized representation and naturalistic portrayal, just as pictorial art of the same period encompassed the whole spectrum between these two extremes. Whether one interprets this situation as one of coexistence or as one of flux, the well-known examples of open conflict (for example, Caravaggio's image of the Christ child adored by shepherds with dirty feet: discussed by Carducho, Diálogos, fols 61^{v}-62^{r}) do not justify a search for a retrospective verdict on winners and losers in the battle of styles. The need felt by Torres Naharro, Lope, Ricardo del Turia, Barreda, Tirso and Morales Polo to define and redefine the drama of their time does not presuppose a radical breaking with the past, but rather a shift of balance or an evolution of taste. As much as a generation after the publication of what is now regarded as the theory of the comedia (starting in about 1609 with Lope and finishing with Pellicer de Tovar in 1635), Luis de Morales Polo formulates a new definition some

time around 1654: 'Definamos la comedia nuevamente. Es la comedia un convite que el entendimiento hace al oído y a la vista'.[72] Countering some real or imagined criticism of the contemporary theatre (and referring almost inevitably to the anecdote of Apelles and the shoemaker), Morales Polo concentrates on the potential of comedias with historical themes to depict (retratar and pintar) morally valuable examples (ejemplos):

> Las comedias [de hoy] con ejemplos y desengaños tan naturales, que parecen vivos, nos aseguran luces a la vida para apoyar aciertos; porque nos retratan las virtudes, martirios y vidas de aquellos capitanes de la primitiva Iglesia, como si nacieran con nosotros; y si la historia, forzada de la verdad, ha pintado ejemplos malos que poder seguir los viciosos, como en Tiberio, Nerón, Domiciano, Cónmodo [sic], y otros malos Príncipes, la poesía siempre nos los pinta, con su licencia, más acertados, y a los buenos más perfectos; porque las más veces retrata sus héroes no como fueron, sino como habían de ser.(95-96)

Here the verb retratar conveys both the notion of naturalistic portrayal and the concept of idealization, and they are not mutually exclusive as modes of representation. Morales Polo's insistence on the retrato metaphor was probably a response to one or both of two factors: his focus on the emperor Trajan seems to have been inspired by Barreda's earlier work, where the portrait metaphor predominates in the statements on drama (see below, pp. 205-08); there is also the strong likelihood that by the early 1650s no alternative metaphor could compete. The espejo metaphor, by this time excluded from the canon of dramatic theory and quoted only occasionally by conservative pedants, does not appear at all in a context (the lives of the saints) where it would have been inevitable before. The process of change and development in recorded dramatic theory

between 1600 and 1650 is a complex amalgam of individual statements and standpoints, and the recurrent assertions of the need for new times to have new art must be set against the constant cross-reference with classical authority. In this context Lope was no less dependent than others on his predecessors, despite 'the artistic liberties for which he stood'(Jack Parker, 123). Undiluted Senecan tragedy was superseded, together with the dramatic theory that was designed to explain it; rhetorical recitation (recitar) gave way to dramatic portrayal (representar and retratar). Art and art theory move on, as the painter Ribera tells Jusepe Martínez in a discussion of Italian fifteenth-century painting: 'ahora se pinta por diferente rumbo y práctica', but (Ribera stresses) without neglecting to study the past.[73] In reviewing the dramatic theory of the early seventeenth century, I shall concentrate on the metaphors employed to clarify what was clearly felt to be a new direction in the theatre. The migration and relative popularity of these metaphors offer clues which certainly deserve to be explored. The vogue for some metaphors (retrato and pintura), the relegation of others (espejo and símbolo) and the demise of another (dechado) are indicators of change, and as such can guide the scholar to (at least) tentative conclusions.

Margarete Newels has suggested that the writings of El Pinciano should not be underestimated as a source of ideas and terminology for those who subsequently wrote on the theatre (Los géneros dramáticos, 34), and he may well have played a part in the consolidation of the retrato metaphor. Referring

at one point to the question of poetic imitation, he uses a painting comparison to explain the distinction between creativity and plagiarism; the true artist is equated with the 'retratador', while the plagiarist is a 'simple pintor', so that the poem that goes to nature for its model is 'como retrato'.[74] One is left to speculate whether a statement of this kind, made in 1596, had any bearing on Alemán's choice of the retrato metaphor for his Guzmán in 1599. In his definition of fábula, El Pinciano echoes Aristotle, but with an important adjustment:

> Fábula, según doctrina de Aristóteles en su Poéticos, es imitación de la obra, no la obra misma, sino una semejanza della; como el retratador es más perfecto cuanto más hace semejanza el retrato a la cosa retratada, así lo será el poeta cuanto la obra hiciera más verisímil.(Philosofía, ed. Carballo Picazo, 1953, I, 239)

In fact, Aristotle uses the example of the portrait painter to illustrate the notion of idealized representation in a tragedy, and not naturalistic imitation (Poetics, Cap. 15). There are possible precedents in the Poetics for comparisons between dramatic poetry and painting on naturalistic terms: in Chapter 2, for example, Aristotle tells us that 'among the painters Polygnotus represented his subjects as better, and Pauson as worse, while Dionysius painted them just as they were'(Dorsch, 33). In Chapter 25 he states that 'Sophocles said he drew men as they ought to be, whereas Euripides drew them as they are'(70). The need for the poem to be true to life is a point made several times by Horace, as when he says 'I would lay down that the experienced poet, as an imitative artist, should look to human life and character for his

models' and 'works written to give pleasure should be as true to life as possible'(Dorsch, 90-91). Whatever the source, the concept of drama (and literature) reproducing life with the accuracy of a portrait painter had gained a foothold in the critical thought patterns of the period. Indeed, by 1617 'lopistas' such as Sánchez de Moratalla were quoting Aristotle as their authority for the idea that the comedia imitates life in the same way that the best portrait painters depict the natural colours (nativos colores) of their models.[75]

I have already mentioned the memorial of 1598 in which 'la villa de Madrid' set out to persuade the king (successfully, it turned out) to lift a ban on the staging of plays. While conceding that restrictions needed to be placed on lascivious dancing and excessive transvestism, the 'villa' argued that the comedia had the capacity to edify the viewer who was 'dócil y prudente'(Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 422a). Seeking to define the substance of the comedia ('la sustancia'), they state that 'ella es espejo, aviso, ejemplo, retrato, dechado y escarmiento de la vida'(422a). Here the neutral metaphor - retrato - is heavily outnumbered by a series of didactically-loaded metaphors; given the purpose of the document, this is not so surprising. Of the listed metaphors aviso and escarmiento were not commonly used, before or after this date; ejemplo and ejemplar remained in the conservative repertoire, while dechado, which featured so strongly in the sixteenth century, seems to have reached the end of its useful life as a literary metaphor at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1603, for example, Agustín de Rojas is among the

last (if not the last) to use the term dechado in support of the comedia:

> Porque aquí representamos
> una de dos: las proezas
> de algún ilustre varón,
> su linaje y su nobleza,
> o los vicios de algún príncipe,
> las crueldades o bajezas,
> para que al uno se imite
> y con el otro haya enmienda;
> y aquí se ve que es dechado
> de la vida la comedia.[76]

The discarding of a once so popular metaphor, which had been regularly paired with espejo, is symptomatic of a new focus in literary theory. The play was no longer the model; as Margarete Newels explains, nature was the model:

> La mezcla de lo trágico con lo cómico [...] encuentra su modelo en la naturaleza misma. He aquí un argumento completamente nuevo en la defensa del teatro de la época, argumento que se relaciona estrechamente con la estética de la poesía en general, puesto que incide en la interpretación del verdadero significado de mimesis o imitatio.(Los géneros dramáticos, 143, cf. 146)

It cannot be a coincidence that none of the pro-comedia theorists, from Lope onwards, describes the new drama as a dechado; furthermore, after about 1615, apologists for the comedia cease to quote the espejo metaphor altogether, breaking simultaneously with classical authority and with the strong moral bias inherent in the mirror analogue.

Between 1602 and 1609, when Lope published his Arte nuevo, there were comments on the new drama from a whole series of supporters and detractors (the second group complaining more about the abuses perpetrated by third-rate dramatists and actors than about the better examples of the genre). Carvallo, Cascales, Rey de Artieda and Cervantes all quote the 'espejo de la vida/ de las costumbres' formula.[77] Other

metaphors used are cifra (by Carvallo) and símbolo (by Cristóbal de Mesa). In Carvallo's Cisne de Apolo (pub. 1602), comedy is attacked by 'Zoilo' for its 'malos ejemplos', and defended by 'Lectura' on the basis that it can instruct the spectator: comedy is defined as 'una cifra y mapa de la fortuna'(26). The word cifra conveyed the two related notions of symbolically-charged representation and of conciseness, as Covarrubias' definition of cifrar indicates: 'recopilar una cosa y reducilla a pocas razones. Descifrar, declarar algunas palabras obscuras'; the term cifra also had a neo-Platonic pedigree, and was linked with intimations of Divine harmony and beauty.[78] At one point Carvallo links cifra with the Latin word comprehensio.[79] If cifra means something akin to conveying a lot in a few words, or the expression of what is most significant, then perhaps Carvallo was moving here towards Ricardo del Turia's later assertion (made in 1616) that drama must of necessity compress events to convey meaning and sustain the interest of the audience, in the same way that a painting makes its appeal to the spectator (see below, p. 202).

Cristóbal de Mesa, writing around 1604, still distinguishes between tragedy and comedy in his Compendio del arte poética, and appears to have frowned on the format of the comedia, and on its success (see Newels, 64 and 144). He lists the low-life types found in comedy, including 'el sutil mañoso pícaro', and concludes that comedy is a 'vivo retrato, y claro símbolo/ de la humana moral vida política'.[80] The choice of words in the whole poem is dictated by the self-imposed need

to end each line with an esdrújulo accent, and this may explain the unusual choice of símbolo, although the term does tie up with Carvallo's cifra. If claro is intended to mean 'clear, not obscure', then the combination of claro símbolo is, perhaps deliberately, a contradiction in terms; if claro means 'illustrious', then it is surely misapplied to the context of low-life action. Perhaps Mesa has merely transferred the claro that would normally accompany espejo to the closest synonym that satisfies the pattern of accentuation. As far as the metaphor of the vivo retrato is concerned, Mesa follows Juan de la Cueva in preferring to render Cicero's imago veritatis as retrato rather than imagen (which other contemporaries chose), and he appears to be the first writer in Spanish to apply the topical combination of vivo and retrato to drama, albeit to comedy and not to the comedia. Among his list of comic types, the term pícaro stands out as a modern addition, while others, like the 'esclavo tímido' hark back to Roman theatre. Perhaps the combination of the raging success of Guzmán (popularly known as El pícaro), that book's presentation as a vivo retrato, and the gathering tendency to describe drama in terms of painting enabled or persuaded Mesa to initiate, however indirectly, a pattern of metaphorical usage that later apologists seized on and developed with enthusiasm.

Cascales, in his Tablas poéticas (finished around 1604, but published in 1617), would not countenance the tragicomic genre, although he later came to write in defence of the comedia (also in 1617, see Newels, 141 and 144). As far as

metaphors of literary creation are concerned, Cascales is unusual in applying the speculum vitae formula to poetry as a whole, and not just to comedy; this aesthetic stance was most probably inspired by Robortello, who had made the same application of Cicero's definition in 1548.[81] Cascales defines imitar as 'representar y pintar al vivo'(27 and 228), and, apart from the occasional use of describir and expresar, Cascales consistently employs representar and, particularly, pintar when explaining the creative techniques of the poet and the writer of comedy:

> ¿Qué diremos del alcahuete? Cuál sea su natural ingenio y vida, aptísimamente los pinta Terencio en los Adelfos, y Plauto en el Pseudolo.(219)

In some cases, despite his very close borrowing from sources like Robortello, he changes Latin verbs like effingere and exprimere into pintar, eschewing the obvious choices of fingir and expresar.[82] In this he illustrates a process which had been taking place for at least thirty years, and to which Simón Abril and Vicente Espinel had already made a contribution: the emergence of the verb pintar (with the optional addition of al vivo) as the dominant metaphor of literary theory.

Lope's Arte nuevo has provoked a greater number and variety of interpretations than any other work of Siglo de Oro literary theory. In recent years the focus of scholarship has shifted (with valuable results) to consider the rhetorical features of the work, and subsequently to evaluate its resemblance to a theatrical loa.[83] My own analysis will be restricted to the way Lope employs the topical retrato and

espejo metaphors in his defence of the comedia. We know that the main apologists after Lope promote the portrait or painting metaphor, and that they appear to question or ignore altogether the time-honoured mirror analogy; this could throw some light on Lope's relation to both fading and developing lines of thought, although it is important to bear in mind that Lope's followers credited him with breaking new ground as an innovator in technique, and not so much as a radical theorist. At the core of the Arte nuevo lies the distinction between an established set of 'preceptos' which constituted an 'arte', and Lope's own set of 'preceptos' or 'aforismos' which go against the received opinion of the pundits ('doctos'), and therefore 'contra el arte'; furthermore the gulf is a considerable one, as Lope states: 'del arte vamos tan remotos'.[84] He is only too aware of the neo-classical doctrine: 'pasé los libros que trataban desto', and the slightly garbled summary he offers of it confirms this point, while at the same time conveying the sense of confusion that he is sure others share with him (he uses the adjective confuso twice).[85] Within the opening section, Lope refers twice to Cicero's definition of comedy, once indirectly and then directly; in the first example, the irony is easy to detect:

> Ya tiene la comedia verdadera
> su fin propuesto, como todo género
> de poema o poesía, y éste ha sido
> imitar las acciones de los hombres
> y pintar de aquel siglo las costumbres.(lines 49-53)

Here the 'real' comedies are offered as the standard which modern plays ('las nuestras': line 61) have failed to match,

while the phrase 'aquel siglo' in line 53 suggests the alternative of '<u>este</u> siglo'; the message from Lope is clear enough: modern times need modern forms of theatre, not the outmoded distinctions and formulae of the past, and the new <u>comedia</u> imitates and paints the here and now.

There seems to be no irony in Lope's direct reference to Cicero's definition, which follows his mention of Greek comedies in which playwrights 'reprehendían vicios y costumbres':

> Por eso Tulio los llamaba espejo
> de las costumbres y una viva imagen
> de la verdad, altísimo atributo,
> en que corre parejas con la historia.
> Mirad si es digna de corona y gloria.(lines 123-27)

These are the closing lines of his survey of the authorized 'arte', a survey which he characterizes as 'traducir libros' and a 'máquina confusa', and which he imagines his audience must have tired of. Consequently, what attitude does Lope convey towards Cicero's much-quoted definition, and is the comment 'altísimo atributo' to be taken entirely at face value? Lope includes in his own guidelines for composing a <u>comedia</u> the notion that characters change their style of speech to match their purpose ('diferente estilo': line 254), and this is justified because it reflects the truth: 'se imita la <u>verdad</u> sin duda'(line 253). Lope links the truth in drama with the imitation of variety, nature and mixture, and on this basis there is nothing in the Ciceronian definition that could not be applied to the <u>comedia</u>. In this way, any form of drama that truly was a mirror of customs and, especially, a 'viva imagen de la <u>verdad</u>' would deserve the reward of recognition

and universal approbation: 'corona y gloria'. Perhaps Cicero's formula, so familiar to all of his audience, is deliberately placed at the point where the established arte gives way to the new in Lope's speech, as if the words 'viva imagen de la verdad' serve as the trigger to redefine the word comedia as a living rather than a dead image of truth. Cicero's definition will serve provided it is observed to the letter, and the restrictions on the mood of the action and on the personnel are lifted. This is the message of the third and final reference to Cicero's definition, which Lope makes in Latin at the close of his discourse: 'Humanae cur sit speculum comoedia vitae,[etc]'. Juan Manuel Rozas has seen in these lines a posture of ironic deference to the 'seudocultos y cultos' whom Lope was addressing:

> Sacarse de la manga unos versos latinos que refuercen su posición culta y de respeto a los mayores, que empiezan con el topicazo moralista.[86]

This section in Latin repays closer inspection, and may not be just the 'demostración de erudición' that Juan Manuel Rozas considers it (180). The question Lope is answering, albeit in Latin, is (and I quote here and below from the Spanish translation of López de Toro) '¿Por qué es espejo de la vida humana la comedia?'(ed. Rozas, 194). Which 'comedia' is he referring to? It must be the new one, the comedia (Wilson/Moir express no doubts: 49), since he offers to reveal how it can contain burlas veras: 'en medio de sus chanzas qué cuestiones serias propone o entre alegres bromas qué asuntos transcendentes va mezclando'; the mixture of the comic and the serious in the same play goes against neo-classical doctrine,

but is an accurate reflection of life, and a favourite device of the comedia: as Lope says, 'grave una parte, otra ridícula' and 'mezclamos la sentencia trágica/ a la humildad de la bajeza cómica'(lines 177 and 191-92). When, twenty-two years later (in El castigo sin venganza), Lope quotes the Ciceronian definition for the last time, there is a distinct echo in the words spoken by the duke of the Latin passage in the Arte nuevo:

> Agora sabes, Ricardo,
> que es la comedia un espejo,
> en que el necio, el sabio, el viejo,
> el mozo, el fuerte, el gallardo,
> el rey, el gobernador
> la doncella, la casada,
> siendo al ejemplo escuchada
> de la vida y del honor,
> retrata nuestras costumbres,
> o livianas o severas,
> mezclando burlas y veras,
> donaires y pesadumbres.[87]

The words are part of a speech in which the duke expresses his displeasure when he thinks some lines rehearsed by an actress offstage have revealed to him the bad reputation he has: 'el estado de mi fama'(44); people of his rank, he says, do not wish to hear 'tan claras verdades'(44) of the kind that the comedia can provide. Lope has made the definition serve his dramatic purpose here, and the duke's reference to 'costumbres livianas' is obviously intended to convey a mood of desengaño. Nonetheless, looking beyond Lope's primary intentions, it would be tempting to envisage Lope linking the 'espejo de la vida' definition here with the 'cur sit [...] putes' (Por qué [...] preguntas) of his fondly-remembered Latin finale to the Arte nuevo (since so much else here echoes the contents of the Latin passage) and to interpret the words 'agora sabes' as his

answer to that question: that is, 'you asked, and now you know'.

Returning to a summary of the facts, the evidence suggests that Lope adopted the espejo metaphor but rejected the standard application to low-life action. For him the mirror in this context is synonymous with truthful portrayal (and not idealization), and as such can lead the spectator to moments of self-knowledge, as dramatized in El acero de Madrid (probably 1608-12) where the father Prudencio acknowledges the power of songs and poetry to advise (and acts on it: 'con ejemplo de estos músicos'), and says of drama that 'allí se ven ejemplos y consejos, porque son de la vida los espejos'.[88] Where the Arte nuevo merely implies the reforming potential of the comedia, the espejo definitions in the two plays make it explicit. When Lope comes to set out his own guidelines in the Arte nuevo he prefers the verb imitar to the verb pintar: for example, 'se imita la verdad sin duda' and 'imite cuanto pueda la gravedad real'.[89] By 1631, when he quotes the 'speculum vitae' formula again, the verb imitar has given way to retratar, most probably in response to the prevailing tendency to compare the comedia to painting; in the late, retrospective Egloga a Claudio, Lope does just that when he equates his speed of composition with that of kindred spirits like Titian and Luqueto.[90] To sum up: in redefining the principle of 'imitar la verdad' as the basis for the comedia, Lope was an innovator; it was his followers who enshrined that principle in terms of the retrato fiel.

In the continuing debate on the risks to public safety inherent in the viewing of plays, at least two contributors writing between 1609 and 1616 quote the standard espejo definition of comedy. Writing in 1613 or before, Fructuoso Bisbe y Vidal derives his traditional definition of comedy's aims and its limits of personnel from Donatus:

> La Comedia es una fábula, una fición, un suceso fingido, una maraña en que se representan diversos tratos y costumbres, así de ciudadanos y gente de estado mediano, como de gente común y vulgar, con los cuales podemos ser instruidos de cosas que pueden ser útiles y provechosas para el concierto de la vida, y de aquello que puede dañar y empecer. De la cual difinición [sic] se colige, que la Comedia es un espejo en el cual se nos representan las buenas costumbres para imitarlas, y las malas para declinarlas.[91]

Bisbe's concern, which he shares with so many other critics of the comedia, centres on the power which the theatre has to corrupt its audience. He seems now to apply the definition he has quoted to the comedia, as he deals with the vexed question of whether any kind of involvement in a play (even as a spectator) constitutes a sin:

> Las comedias de su naturaleza son indiferentes [...] La Comedia en llegando al acto ya deja de ser indiferente, y luego declina al bien, o al mal, según que cada cual Comedia en particular es representada.(fols 1^{v} and 5^{v})

He disapproves most strongly of plays which concentrate on love intrigue, and follows an already well-established line of reasoning:

> Pues si se vedan los libros de arte amatoria [...] mayor razón hay de vedarse las comedias [...] Porque en las comedias se hace vivamente lo que en los libros estaba muerta (fol. 46^{r-v}).
>
> Pues si la poesía (en materia de amores), leída tiene la fuerza que dicen estos autores, ¿qué será oída y representada, dándole los vivos colores y subiéndola de punto con el donaire del decir?[92]

It was not uncommon for opponents of the comedia to draw comparisons with pornographic and provocative paintings as part of the denigration process. There is already a hint of this technique in the comments of Fray Juan de Pineda (1589) concerning the potential of the 'espectáculo' to corrupt the viewer, and he offers the example of some pagan rulers who 'tenían sus aposentos colgados de pinturas feísimas y de abominaciones carnales' to provoke their own sinful desires (Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 504b). The metaphor of the abominable image is used again by Fray José de Jesús María (1600), who calls the comedia a 'retablo y despertador de memorias torpísimas y feas' and thunders against theatres as 'templos de ídolos adonde se hacen sacrificios públicos al demonio'(Cotarelo, 370b and 379b). This mode of attack, however, reaches an interesting phase between 1612 and 1615, when the detrimental comparison with painting is more fully developed by, firstly, Fray Juan Márquez (1612) and then by Fray Juan de Santa María (1615):

> Y es muy cierto que aun las pinturas deshonestas cautivan los ojos y tras ellos arrastran el alma, como le sucedió al otro mozuelo de Terencio; y que historias torpes son más de temer retratadas en los ademanes de una muger que en los colores de un cuadro.
>
> Aun las pinturas deshonestas, que no hablan ni se menean, arrebatan los ojos y arrastran el alma, ¿qué serán retratadas al vivo en los ademanes de una desenvuelta mujer? No hay duda sino que dejan una viva impresión en el alma.(Cotarelo, 437b and 540b)

An intriguing hypothesis suggests itself: the development of and, in particular, the insistence on this negative comparison between the comedia and provocative painting may have been intended to discredit not only the theatre, but also the

favourite metaphor of its apologists; after all, nothing would be lost, and much could be gained from setting out to undermine the status of a comparison that was on everyone's lips. This emphasis on the potentially dangerous 'vivos colores' of the play in performance continued to be an important line of attack, as when Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz (1635) complains of those actors who perform 'con la viveza de los colores que el demonio sabe dar'.[93] Returning to Bisbe, we can see that for him the espejo metaphor connotes a specific moral purpose in the theatre, while for him and for fellow opponents the notions of the retrato, the pintura and colores suggest in the context of drama unacceptable realism, if not outright depravity.

Between 1609 and 1614, Francisco Ortiz composed a brief, unpublished defence of the comedia, but with the proviso that certain abuses should be avoided and that it be 'honestamente representada, cual la he pintado en esta Apología'.[94] In what he says about Terence and Plautus, which is very reminiscent of Abril's translated and invented prologues (see above, pp. 158-59), the creativity of the dramatist is expressed in the verb pintar, which seems to be interchangeable with representar:

> Allí hallaremos pintado un viejo codicioso, una mujer viviable, un mozo perdido, y que todos conociendo sus faltas vienen a persuadirnos que nos apartemos de ellos. Allí se representa el capitán valeroso a quien sigamos. (82)

He distinguishes the 'vocablos llanos y ordinarios' of comedy from the speech of tragedy, where 'ha de haber lloros, destierros, muertes, lenguaje hinchado y arrogante'(67), and

later goes on to define comedy according to the standard formula:

> Estas son, como refiere Donato de Cicerón y de Livio Andrónico, una compostura y artificiosa imaginación de la vida, espejo de las costumbres y imagen de la verdad. (83-84)

The last two components of the definition are the usual ones, while the first is a peculiar rendering of Cicero's imitatio vitae, which does not appear to derive from the sources he mentions, but seems to be have been invented by Ortiz; one is left to wonder why. There is certainly an echo here of the definition of comedy offered by Torres Naharro in 1517: 'un artificio ingenioso de notables y finalmente alegres acontecimientos'(Preceptiva, 62); Ortiz seems later to be talking about the comedia when he states that 'lo mismo digo de la comedia: ella es una cosa de grande artificio, llena de mil sentencias'(86). The term compostura seems to have meant the fusing together of different component parts, as well as our less specific word 'composition'; Juan de la Cueva (1606) appears to refer, in an unclear passage, to comedy as 'esta alegre compostura'(see above, p. 164) while Miguel Sánchez de Lima (1580), in his list of poetic forms, describes the complicated sextinas as 'compostura de mucho artificio'.[95] As for 'una imaginación de la vida', such a definition emphasizes the inventive and creative skills of the dramatist, and may hark back to the comedia a fantasía of Torres Naharro, with its emphasis on lifelike pretence: 'de cosa fantástiga [sic] o fingida, que tenga color de verdad aunque no lo sea'(Preceptiva, 62). What is clear is that Ortiz has resisted the obvious 'imitación de la vida' in his definition,

and, apparently, chosen to coin something more appropriate; but appropriate to what? He must have had the comedia in mind, and so he may be adapting the locus classicus, retrospectively (so to speak), to make it apply in some way to the modern comedia. As Juan Manuel Blecua (see above, p. 22) and Arthur Terry have explained in relation to poetic theory, most writers before 1600 were concerned with exhausting the possibilities of the doctrine of mimesis, while later on 'the poet, instead of providing an «imitation», was now required to «modify» Nature in order to produce a work of art'.[96] Ortiz may have been searching for a metaphor that would satisfactorily convey the new focus on artificio and the ingenio (the 'instrument of choice' with which the poet now 'conferred order on experience': Terry, 33). The combination of this imperative and the new emphasis in drama on fidelity to life was best expressed in terms of the retrato metaphor, which implied close reference to the original while at the same time acknowledging the skill of the artist in the creative process, which the mirror metaphor (by comparison) denied.

The notion of painting lies at the heart of the Apologético de las comedias españolas composed by Ricardo del Turia and published in 1616. He deals first with the condemnation of the comedia by 'los muy críticos Terensiarcos y Plautistas destos tiempos'(PDV I, 622), and sets this against the very favourable response of audiences. The detractors are straightaway characterized as clinging to the classical past in the face of new developments, which are dictated by a

combination of good theatre sense (namely, what is representable), the urge to imitate the variety of nature (hence Turia's insistence on mixto and mixtura) and the desire to comply with the preferences of the impatient Spanish public, which Turia calls 'el gusto español', 'la naturaleza española' and 'la cólera española'(625).[97] The galán is targeted by the critics because he is portrayed (se retrata) as a pampered loafer and painted (le pintan) as an expert in every field of knowledge (622). Having planted the idea of dramatic painting in his text, Turia quotes the speculum vitae formula in an interesting context as he responds to those who criticize the current tendency to compress events in drama:

> Pues dicen que, si la comedia es un espejo de los sucesos de la vida humana, ¿cómo quieren que en la primera jornada o acto nazca uno, y en la segunda sea gallardo mancebo, y en la tercera experimentado viejo, si todo esto pasa en el discurso de dos horas? (623)

It is not clear who says that comedy (or the comedia) is a mirror; the earlier, explicit linking of this doctrine-sodden 'secta de discretos' with Terence suggests that Turia is quoting their definition, and not one he necessarily subscribes to. In view of his subsequent choice of painting analogies to explain this very issue of dramatic compression, some irony (at the very least) in this allusion to Cicero's speculum seems to have been intended; he later refers to 'las reglas y leyes que amaron Plauto y Terencio'(624-25), as completely inappropriate for the modern theatre.

Turia coincides with Ortiz in stressing the grande artificio needed to mix together so many distinct elements in one dramatic form (623), and pictures Lope for us reworking and

incorporating successful pasos in his plays (625). This mixing of comic and tragic elements, together with the compression of key events, is (Turia says) akin to the process of making a painting, and its effect is comparable too:

> porque la cólera española está mejor con la pintura que con la historia; dígolo porque una tabla o lienzo de una vez ofrece cuanto tiene, y la historia se entrega al entendimiento o memoria con más dificultad, pues, al paso de los libros o capítulos en que el autor la distribuye.(625)

Here, Turia clearly has in mind the qualities and properties of a painted canvas, and not the notion of rhetorical colours which informs the 'painting' analogies of Virués. Carlos Boyl's description of tragicomedy as a tela, in a 'romance' also published in 1616, may well be a variation on Turia's painted canvas comparison.[98]

Having characterized the comedia as a painting, created with thoughtful artistry from disparate elements, Turia now employs another painting comparison to illustrate what happens if you write plays according to outmoded doctrine, a process he has already called 'escribir las comedias con el rigor a que los reducen estos afectados censores'(624). You end up with a monster:

> Y si le preguntáis al más delicado destos [Zoilos españoles] que os señale las partes de que ha de constar un perfecto poema cómico, le sucede lo que a muchos poetas pintores de hermosuras humanas, pues las atribuyen facciones tan disformes, que si el más castigado pincel las redujera a plática, no hubiera inventado demonio tan horrible Jerónimo Bosco en sus trasnochados diabólicos caprichos.(626)

To sum up: for Ricardo del Turia, an important and vehement apologist for the comedia, the analogy with painting serves as a useful tool to explain the new drama. He appears to think

in terms of mirrors less than the conservative critics do, and there is evidence to suggest that he is mocking not only their doctrinal paralysis, but also their favourite (and the traditional) metaphor.

Cascales' well-known epístola in defence of the comedia, which was addressed to Lope, dates from around 1617 and deals with several important issues: whether playmaking or viewing constituted a sin, and whether the dramatic portrayal of vice could benefit the spectator.[99] After crediting Lope with giving gracia, elegancia and valentía to drama, Cascales embarks on a historical survey of the sinful excesses of past theatre before concluding that contemporary theatre, where 'se representa sin deshonestidad', is acceptable and morally indiferente, since the representation of evil can be educative (48-50). He quotes various parts of the Ciceronian definition of comedy five times: it is in turn imitación, imagen and espejo (55-57 and 60). Cascales applies the classical formula to the comedia, distinguishing between comedy and tragedy only when quoting a recent version of another locus classicus.[100] The poet, he says, imitates emotions as well as customs: where the emphasis is on customs the poem will be morata, while 'será patético, donde predomina la pintura y descripción de los afectos'(57). Having stressed (throughout) the potential of drama to instruct, Cascales finishes by considering the other half of the Horatian formula, its capacity to delight. He returns to a debate he covers in the earlier Tablas poéticas (see above, pp. 69-70), as he considers whether the dramatic imitation of evil and pitiful events (malas and

lastimosas) can give an audience pleasure. Following earlier writers, like Minturno, he draws a parallel with painting to illustrate his point:

> Pues si un pintor con vivas[sic] colores, o un poeta con su verdadera imitación, pintase aquel triste caso [un toro arrebata a un hombre] tan propriamente, que me pareciese a mí que veía otra vez aquella crueldad, la genuina imitación del pintor o del poeta, ¿no me agradaría? Sin duda. Luego también agrada el histrión representando lo malo como lo bueno, lo lastimoso como lo alegre.[101]

The evidence available suggests that Cascales was a committed classicist overtaken by literary events but perceptive enough to see that there was value in Lope's theatre. There is nothing especially retrograde or exceptionable in his epístola, and plenty to indicate that he followed the contemporary developments, although when he quotes Virgil (Marón) to the effect that 'los poetas son unos cristalinos espejos, que nos dicen la verdad de lo que pasa y ha pasado y pasará en el mundo'(60), there would certainly have been writers who preferred to be considered skilful painters rather than mere reflectors of the world around them.

In a very useful study, Ruth Lee Kennedy investigated the attacks to which the Lopean comedia was subjected in 1617 and 1620, and it is a safe assumption that Barreda's apología and Tirso's defence were composed as a response to the literary and moral charges that were levelled at what was by now an established and popular type of drama.[102] The various lines of attack and defence have been explored elsewhere, and consequently I shall limit my contribution to a review of what seems to me the most important terminology that was used in the war of words. Two important and related points can be

quickly made: firstly, neither Barreda nor Tirso mentions the standard espejo analogy, which I have suggested had become outmoded except for conservative critics. Indeed, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, who figures so significantly in the verbal assault on the comedia which Miss Kennedy explores, invokes the example of the classics and does not hesitate in 1617 to quote the Ciceronian formula: 'la comedia [...] mira principalmente a las costumbres y es un espejo de la vida'(quoted by Kennedy, 60). The second point is that the two apologists do not resort to conservative jargon to placate the critics, but instead adopt a positive, even assertive stance for which their best weapon is the comparison with painting. In this sense, Barreda and Tirso continue the metaphorical link between pintura and comedia initiated before 1600 and most recently endorsed by Ricardo del Turia.

Francisco Barreda's measured and very sensible defence of the comedia was composed in or before 1618 and published in 1622, while Tirso's more indignant counterattack on the critics was published in 1621.[103] It is impossible to establish who wrote first or whether the one had a direct influence on the other, especially in their common choice of painting comparisons. Barreda's work seems to predate Tirso's, and so I shall examine it first. He begins by defining arte as 'ejemplos graduados por la experiencia'(191), and this leads onto one of his main points: that because plays in Aristotle's time were 'imperfectos y mal limados' it follows that his arte was also in an imperfect state, so that he could not give us 'el arte que no tenía'(191). For Barreda

experiencia is more powerful than Aristotle's agudeza, enabling Barreda to 'atropellar su autoridad'(192). Perfection has now been reached in the comedia which is 'un orbe perfecto de la Poesía', containing within it all the effects previously achieved by the separate poetic forms of the epic, the lyrical, the tragic and the comic. Variety is the key:

> Esta variedad de poemas en nuestra comedia está muy defendida, porque siendo la comedia pincel de las acciones, hay muchas [refers to 'acciones' and probably not to 'comedias'] que tienen de todos afectos, y de manera todos, que ha menester ayudarse de la traza de todos los poemas para vestirlos.(192)

The use of the paintbrush metaphor (for probably the first time in conjunction with the theatre) invites comparison with the process of painting, and not rhetoric; furthermore, there is a link between the pincel and the lima (or 'file'), implicit in the adjective limado which Barreda uses twice, that reinforces the idea of gradual and considered creativity.[104] The combination of the implied notion of artistic licence, so strongly stated by Tirso, and the verb vestir echoes Juan de la Cueva's earlier declaration of the poet's (and the painter's) freedom to 'dress' his work in any attire (see above, p. 163). Barreda now continues the fight ('lucha') with Aristotle and those servile classicists who think that comedy and tragedy should be separate entities:

> Es la poesía, dice Horacio, como la pintura, o porque peleemos con sus armas. Aristóteles concisamente la [ie. poesía] define, diciendo que es imitación. Para ser perfecta una pintura, bástale ser fiel. Hay, pues, acciones entre los hombres que mezclan serenidad y borrasca, en un mesmo punto, en una mesma persona [...] El poema, pues, que retratare esta acción fielmente, habrá cumplido con el rigor de la Poesía. Esto hacen nuestras comedias con suma atención. Luego son perfectísimas.(193)

The painting metaphor is reinforced here with Barreda's pointed insistence on the word fiel: in the end this, provided there is no impropriety, is his principal criterion for painting, poetry and drama. Life mixes happy and sad episodes, and so should the theatre: '¿Esta comedia no es retrato de aquellas obras? Pues si es retrato, claro está que ha de referir su imagen'(193). The same line of argument is repeated when Barreda dismisses the objection that a number of characters should not participate equally in a single event:

> Pues si sucede que en un caso haya muchas personas que con igualdad intervienen, ¿por qué la comedia que retrata a ese caso, no le retratará con esas personas igualmente? La impropiedad fuera no retratarle así.(194)

He now echoes Ricardo del Turia as he employs the painting analogy to demolish the unity of time: 'Esto es decir que en un naipe no se puede retratar un gigante; puede retratarse un escuadrón de ellos'(194). Several examples are given of condensed images, including the painter who portrayed the eleven thousand virgins on a ring, to support the conclusion that 'esto hace la poesía porque es pintura'(194).

The remainder of Barreda's apología includes a survey of classical drama in a vain search for 'el arte' among its defective works, which lacked traza, boato (pageantry, ostentation), grandeza, colores, variedad, adorno, pompa, gallardía and majestad.[105] Art moves on: 'crece el arte con el tiempo', and creative artists must break new ground ('atreverse'); the art of the past would no longer satisfy a modern public because 'ha crecido el ingenio de los hombres'(199). Classical plays are seen as no more than sombras or diseños of the comedia, which the daring and

artistry of modern writers has refined: 'la ha labrado [su atrevimiento dichoso] con los esmaltes de todo género de agudeza'(200). Barreda closes with the recommendation that the comedia should advise as a friend rather than threaten as a judge: the theatre is neither courtroom nor pulpit, after all; while the main aim of drama is 'la doctrina', it should also give pleasure.

Apart from the eminent good sense that pervades his apología, Barreda's most significant contribution to dramatic theory is the way he unifies so many of the topical pro-comedia arguments within the portrait/painting metaphor. There is no mention of Cicero's speculum vitae definition, even though Terence is included in the survey of classical drama. Presumably Cicero, along with Aristotle, represents the authority that has long since expired. The focus is now on artistry and the faithful portrayal of the variety of life, and for this the portrait metaphor is the most appropriate one.

Tirso's well-known defence of the comedia is presented as an epilogue to his play El vergonzoso en palacio, published in Los Cigarrales de Toledo (1621). A certain don Alejo defends the play, and by extension the comedia, against a critic whom Tirso calls 'un aborto malicioso' and 'el malicioso arguyente'(142). The critic accuses the poet of behaving too freely ('licenciosamente': 142) in relation to the rules, and criticizes the time scale as both too long and yet not long enough; Tirso is here highlighting the perversity of the ultra-conservative standpoint. Another criticism is that the

duke's daughters have been 'painted' (pintar) incorrectly, in terms of both their personalities and their actions.[106] The case for the defence follows along lines which are similar to those pursued by Barreda; the play has followed modern rules: 'ha guardado las leyes de lo que ahora se usa'(142). It is nonsense to expect a courtship to be completed in twenty-four hours, and the dramatist must portray (retratar al vivo) such a process realistically. Tirso reworks Turia's example of the painted panel to illustrate his main point:

> Que no en vano se llamó la Poesía «pintura viva»; pues imitando a la muerta, ésta, en el breve espacio de vara y media de lienzo, pinta lejos y distancias que persuaden a la vista a lo que significan, y no es justo que se niegue la licencia, que conceden al pincel, a la pluma, siendo ésta tanto más significativa que esotro, cuanto se deja mejor entender el que habla, articulando sílabas en nuestro idioma, que el que, siendo mudo, explica por señas sus conceptos.(143)

The comedia is not only like a painting, but superior to it: 'más significativa'; it lives while an image, by comparison, is dead. Tirso implies that drama can, if allowed to, create effects which in some way parallel those involving perspective. Presumably he has in mind notions like the freedom to select, arrange and focus the events in a play; elsewhere in his epilogue he advocates processes like componer, variar, ingerir and sacar una mezcla apacible, and effects like diversidad and sutileza. Once again, there is no mention of mirrors; the dramatist paints and portrays al vivo, there is conscious selection and artistry involved, the effect is like the creation and experience of a painting, but provides an even more compelling illusion.

In these two brief pro-comedia 'manifestos' the painting metaphor is all-embracing: it was quite clearly the only, and the most fruitful way to view drama, precisely because it was felt to contain and convey the aspirations of forward-looking writers. A contemporary example of a writer looking fondly back around 1624 towards the past helps to clarify my point:

> Las comedias, que en otros tiempos eran la sal de la república, el espejo de la vida, la entrada y lición de los ignorantes, y el desengaño y luz de los que poco sabían. [Plays full of recognizably bad types getting their just deserts] Estas eran las comedias antiguas, representaciones ejemplares, libros que enseñaban a bien vivir, y en cada palabra decían una sentencia, con que satisfecho el entendimiento, viendo a la vista ya el premio, ya el castigo, seguía el uno por evitar el otro.[107]

Here the linking of the words I have underlined with the mirror metaphor indicates not only the conservative viewpoint but also, for the purposes of my argument, the conservative status of the outdated espejo metaphor. As I have already pointed out, Pellicer de Tovar, writing around 1635, does not resort to the espejo metaphor, despite his obvious intention to underline the moral dimension of the theatre, but instead couches his arguments in terms of the painting metaphor and the new stylistic jargon of the period.[108]

A pattern of sorts emerges from the evidence: for Cicero, Donatus and the neo-classicists comedy could be defined as image, imitation and mirror; in the late sixteenth century, the verb pintar and the noun retrato are increasingly applied to the theatre; Virués and Juan de la Cueva employ the painting metaphor to drama in a rhetorical context; Lope reapplies the mirror metaphor to a new mixed type of theatre; Ricardo del Turia distances himself from the mirror analogy

and perhaps even mocks it, while at the same time drawing important parallels between the comedia and real, rather than rhetorical, paintings; Francisco Barreda and Tirso ignore the time-honoured mirror metaphor and consolidate the portrait metaphor as the most appropriate vehicle for the exposition of the comedia; conservatives and critics of the comedia continue to quote the mirror component of Cicero's definition of a dramatic form which no longer exists. Meanwhile, following the enormous success of Guzmán de Alfarache, the retrato metaphor becomes a recurrent feature in most literature designed to expose the realities of Spanish life and the foibles of mankind. These two threads clearly interacted with each other, although it is now impossible to trace the degree or the direction of that influence. Contemporary developments in the theory and practice of painting quite clearly played a part in the literary process, but again it is hard to specify the exact nature of the process and to know how far it was a two-way interaction.

Chapter 3 - Notes.

(1) See Ronald Surtz, The Birth of A Theater: Dramatic Convention in the Spanish Theater from Juan del Encina to Lope de Vega (Princeton and Madrid, 1979), and Michael J. Ruggiero, 'The Term «Comedia» in Spanish Dramaturgy', RF LXXXIV (1972), 277-96.

(2) 'La villa de Madrid: Memorial impreso dirigido al Rey Felipe II, para que levante la suspensión en las representaciones de comedias, 1598', in Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (ed.), Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España (Madrid, 1904), 421a-424b, especially 422a.

(3) Quoted in F. Sánchez Escribano and A. Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco (Madrid, 1965), 61-62. This anthology is referred to hereafter as Preceptiva. A modern editor has suggested that Torres Naharro's use of the word decoro, in this context, 'carece de implicaciones morales'; see Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Comedias: Soldadesca, Tinelaria, Himenea, ed. D.W. McPheeters (Madrid: Castalia, 1973), 17.

(4) 'Fantasía: vale lo mesmo que imaginación. Cerca de los músicos llaman fantasía una compostura gallarda que el músico tañe de su imaginación [...] Fantasía [as the next but separate entry]: Comúnmente sinifica una presunción vana que concibe de sí el vanaglorioso, philáutico [ie. self-lover] y enamorado de sí mesmo'; compare his definition of 'fantástico'.

(5) See CC edition by Julio Cejador y Frauca, 2 vols (Madrid, 1968; 1st edn, 1910), I, 6-7.

(6) Covarrubias: 'Dechado: El ejemplar de donde la labrandera saca alguna labor, y por translación decimos ser dechado de virtud el que da buen ejemplo a los demás y ocasión para que lo imiten'.

(7) Ed. A. Bonilla, in RHi XXVII (1912), 454b (lines 1108-15), 'A las mujeres'. Another example, from Micael Carvajal, indicates that the word dechado could stand for the (in this case) Biblical source upon which the play is based, as well as for an edifying play: 'Y acaso después de otros filosóficos estudios pasé a la sagrada escriptura y tomando a las manos aquella historia de Joseph hijo de Jacob rey de Canaan: colegí ser más excelente y precioso dechado y de más alta doctrina que hallar se podía', in Tragedia Josefina (c.1535), ed. J.E. Gillet (Princeton, 1932), 2.

(8) 'Alonso de Proaza, corrector de la impresión, al auctor', in Las sergas del virtuoso y esforzado caballero Esplandián, hijo de Amadís de Gaula (Medina del Campo, 1525), fol. 114^{r}; see also the Seville edition of 1542, fol. 119^{v} and BAE XL: Libros de caballerías, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid, 1963), 561.

(9) 'Este vocablo en la lengua castellana tiene diferente sinificación[sic] que labor en latín, el cual sinifica trabajo, fatiga, dificultad, etc., pero labor, en castellano, es lo mesmo que opus, y labrar, obrar alguna cosa.'

(10) I quote from the Manresa edition of 1777. Part of this loa is quoted by Eduardo Juliá Martínez in his introduction to Poetas dramáticos valencianos (hereafter PDV) 2 vols (Madrid, 1929), I, xii.

(11) See edition of Guzmán by Francisco Rico (Barcelona, 1983), 97. The terms ejemplo and dechado were often paired, and yet, despite the statement by Covarrubias that 'absolutamente ejemplo se toma en buena parte, pero decimos dar mal ejemplo', a distinction was drawn between their usage in phrases like 'dechado de virtud', 'ejemplo de fieles' and 'ejemplo de la amistad'; ejemplo could be used in the context of evil, as in, for example, 'ejemplo de tiranos', 'ejemplo de los males' and 'el verdadero ejemplo de tristezas'. The word retrato could serve this purpose, as in 'retratos de la misma falsedad' and 'de crueldad retrato', but neither espejo nor dechado were normally used in a context that did not emphasize goodness or moral ideals. The examples above are taken from the following works: Gaspar Mercader's pastoral novel, El Prado de Valencia [1600], ed. H. Mérimée (Toulouse, 1907), 73, 77 and 218; Carlos Boil, El marido asegurado (pub. 1616), in BAE XLIII, 198b; Ricardo de Turia, La burladora burlada in PDV II, 605b; Miguel Beneyto, El hijo obediente in PDV II, 408a and 409a.

(12) Custodia del hombre (Astorga, 1547), 'Introito y argumento', first page.

(13) In this context, compare the following from the Arte de poesía castellana by Juan del Encina (pub. 1505), addressed 'al muy esclarecido y bienaventurado príncipe Don Juan': 'E vuestra muy alta señoría que tiene tal dechado de que sacar mirando a las ecelencias[sic] e virtudes de sus clarísimos padres', in M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de las ideas estéticas en España 5 vols (Madrid, 1962), I, Appendix V, 511.

(14) 'Dramatic Theories in the Prologues to the Comedie Erudite of the Sixteenth Century', PMLA LVIII (1943), 322-36.

(15) For this phrase, see Pedro Hurtado de la Vera's defence of his Comedia intitulada Doleria (Antwerp, 1572): 'Y tomé no por liviana o sensual como paresce, sino por los Silenos que dicen de Alcibíades, (eran estos Silenos ciertas cajuelas pintadas por de fuera, con figuras de Sátiros y otros animales despreciables y ridículos, mas lo de dentro no tenía precio) o a lo menos si allá no llega, por la sal que hace comer, y no se come sola' (Dedication addressed to the Duke of Medinaceli).

(16) Representaciones, ed. F. González Ollé (Madrid: Castalia, 1979), 175.

(17) Juan Timoneda, 'El autor a los lectores', in Obras 3 vols, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1947-48), II, 247.

(18) 'The literary reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Pre-Renaissance Spain', in HR XXIV (1956), 191-205, especially 201-02.

(19) Frederick West, 'Introduction' to his edition of Jean de la Taille's De L'Art de la Tragédie [c.1570-72] (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), 4-5.

(20) Terencio, Las seys comedias trans. Pedro Simón Abril (Saragossa, 1577) 'prólogo al intérprete' and (Alcalá, 1583) 'dedicatoria'.

(21) See under caráter: 'En verdadera ortografía charácter, signum, forma, figura, insigne [...] cual es la que los pastores ponen a su ganado [...] Y así al cristiano se le imprime en el Bautismo el charácter [sic] de la gracia [...] Hablando precisamente y con rigor, carácter sinifica la señal que se hace imprimiendo o gravando y esculpiendo o pegando con hierro ardiendo, que no se puede borrar ni quitar'.

(22) Gonzalo de Céspedes, 'Al lector', in Historias peregrinas y ejemplares ed. Yves-René Fonquerne (Madrid: Castalia, 1980), 59.

(23) See, for example, Antonio García Berrio, 'Historia de un abuso interpretativo «Ut pictura poesis»', in Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach 3 vols (Oviedo, 1977), I, 291-307.

(24) Texts used are as follows: Arte Poética de Horacio, traducida por Vicente Espinel, in Parnaso Español, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1768), 1-29, and Horace, Obras, in Latin with Spanish commentary by J. Villén de Biedma (Granada, 1599), fols 308^{r}-330^{r}. I have checked the Latin text with the edition by Augustus S. Wilkins (London, 1969), 61-62.

(25) E.S. Morby, 'Notes on Juan de la Cueva: versification and dramatic theory', HR VIII (1940), 213-18, especially 216 and 218.

(26) Cueva: 'Pues la comedia es imitación de la vida humana, espejo de las costumbres, retrato de la verdad, en que se nos representan las cosas que debemos huir, o las que nos conviene elegir, con claros y evidentes ejemplos, poderoso cualquiera dellos [a] confundir las cavilosas intenciones de los que condenan este género de Poesía' ('Epístola dedicatoria a Momo'); Díaz de Alarcón: 'Eurípides [...] hiciera destas obras estima./ Y si viera pintar tiranizado/ un reino con gravísima insolencia,/ temiera él solo verlo recitado.'(Comedias y tragedias 2 vols, ed. F.A. de Icaza, Madrid, 1917, I, 6-7 and 9).

(27) El viaje de Sannio, in Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva (1965), 70.

(28) Coro febeo de romances historiales (Seville, 1587), 'Al libro', fol. 9^{r}; also quoted in Newels, 137, note 31.

(29) Morby, 'Notes on Juan de la Cueva..', 217.

(30) 'Romance a la Musa Thalia', in Coro febeo, fol. 122^{r-v}; see also Newels, 137, note 32. On the notion of artistic licence, compare this statement made in 1533 by Francisco Delicado: '[¿] Cuán maravillosamente este Autor vos pintó este caballero Amadís de Gaula? Y hízolo por facer la razón. Que los Pintores y Poetas y estoriadores como él tienen licencia de Pintar y decir lo que a ellos mejor les pareciere. Para facer sus obras en todo y a todos hermosos'; see 'Prohemio del Corregidor de las letras mal enderezadas', in Los cuatro libros de Amadís de Gaula (Venice, 1533).

(31) On the Art of Poetry, trans. T.S. Dorsch, 79.

(32) El ejemplar poético ed. F.A. de Icaza (Madrid: CC, 1965), 166. Compare Jusepe González de Salas, writing around 1633; the speaker is 'El theatro scénico': 'Heráclito me figuro ya [...]: ya me figuro Demócrito, que riendo, mostraba conoscer bien vuestra mentira.' (El theatro scénico, appended to his Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua, Madrid, 1633, 7).

(33) See Morby, who states that 'Cueva nevertheless at this early date perceived that his own dramatic practice represented an innovation' and translates a quotation from an unpublished second Coro febeo: 'and the world saw from me in comic and tragic style what was seen in no other age'; Morby concludes that Cueva 'lamented that his contribution had gone unrecognized', 'Notes...', 217.

(34) Los géneros poéticos, 33 and 62.

(35) Cervantes, El trato de Argel, in Obras completas, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (17th edition, Madrid, 1970), I, 168b.

(36) Cecilia Vennard Sargent, after reviewing previous estimates, dates the composition of Virués' plays between 1579 and 1590, but she does not speculate about the date of the prologues and epilogues; see A Study of the Dramatic Works of Cristóbal de Virués (New York, 1930), 14. John Weiger suggests that 'some' of the prologues and epilogues 'clearly were composed after the completion of the works they were intended to introduce'; see Cristóbal de Virués (Boston, 1978), 115. For all references to the works of Virués, I have used the edition by Eduardo Juliá Martínez in PDV I; in each case, I have checked the edited version with the original text in Obras trágicas y líricas (Madrid, 1609).

(37) El arte poética en romance castellano, ed. R. de Balbín Lucas (Madrid, 1949), 12.

(38) 'El Auctor. Debajo de un retrato de una dama puso el pintor que la retrató la copla siguiente que compuso el auctor para encarecer más la hermosura de la Dama', in Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco: poeta toledano del siglo XVI (Seville, 1874), 243.

(39) Juan Pérez de Moya, Comparaciones o símiles para los vicios, y virtudes (Alcalá de Henares, 1584), fol. 8r; Francisco Aguado, 'Al Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor D. Agustín Espinola', first page of dedication, in Tomo primero del perfeto religioso (Madrid, 1629).

(40) William C. Atkinson, 'Seneca, Virués, Lope de Vega', in Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch 3 vols (Barcelona, 1936), I, 126.

(41) José Rico Verdú, La retórica española de los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1973), 314-15. A writer could be commended for his exceso, as in this example from 1613: 'Los que le leerán con cristiano cuidado, echarán de ver que el Author[sic] con grande piedad satisface con mucha erudición a todo cuanto se le puede objectar[sic] que se pone a tratar subjecto fuera de su profesión, y esto lo hace con tanto exceso que espero en Dios, que tan buen talento le ha sabido comunicar, que los que en esto viven engañados quedarán desengañados'; see the 'Aprobación' by Pablo Calopa to Fructuoso Bisbe y Vidal's Tratado de las comedias en qual se declara si son lícitas (Barcelona, 1618), the sixth of eleven pages.

(42) See, for example, Manuel Angel Vázquez, Poesía y poética de Fernando de Herrera (Madrid, 1983), 179.

(43) Rodrigo Espinosa de Santayana: 'Hipérbole, no es tropo: sino género de amplificación, y es como si dijésemos, más furioso que tempestad, más ligero que el viento, más duro que piedra'(Arte de retórica, Madrid, 1578, fol. 30^{r}); for 'mentira admitida por encarecimiento', etc., see Baltasar de Céspedes, Del uso y exercicio de la rhetórica, ms. dated 1607, reproduced in Rico Verdú, Retórica, 363.

(44) Juan de Robles, Primera parte del culto sevillano [dated 1631] (Seville, 1883), 190-91.

(45) J.P. Wickersham Crawford, 'Notes on the Tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola', RR V (1914), 31, and 'The Influence of Seneca's Tragedies on Ferreira's Castro and Bermúdez' Nise lastimosa and Nise laureada', MPh XII (1914-15), 171.

(46) Jerónimo de Lomas Cantoral, 'Prólogo del auctor a los lectores', in Obras, ed. Lorenzo Rubio González (Valladolid, 1980), 62.

(47) Rico Verdú lists phrasis, forma, número, lenitas and eloqutio [sic] as synonyms, and quotes a definition of phrasis from Nebrija: 'Si en el aiuntamiento [sic] de las partes de la oración no hay vicio alguno'(335).

(48) The licencia (but not bearing that title, or any other), dated 1575, in 'Antonio de Silva' [ie. Jerónimo Bermúdez], Primeras tragedias españolas (Madrid, 1577). I have followed the printer's peculiar punctuation.

(49) Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva, 140.

(50) 'Seneca, Virués, Lope de Vega', 127; cf. 116.

(51) Donald Stone, Jr. French Humanist Tragedy: A Reassessment (Manchester, 1974), 29-34.

(52) Fray Diego de Estella, Modo de predicar y Modus Concionandi, 2 vols, ed. Pío Sagüés Azcona, O.F.M. (Madrid, 1951), II, 85.

(53) Jusepe Antonio González de Salas, Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua (Madrid, 1633), 73-74.

(54) On the Art of Poetry, trans. T.S. Dorsch, 52.

(55) See, for example, D.P. Simpson, Cassell's New Latin Dictionary (London, 1969), 213, under eminentia.

(56) On the Art of Poetry, trans. T.S. Dorsch, 83.

(57) El theatro scénico [,] a todos los hombres [.] Exercitación scholástica, appended to his Nueva idea, but with its own pagination (5-24); this reference, 6.

(58) For example: 'Pues aunque es verdad, que figurados los [vicios] halláis en mis Dramáticas Acciones, porque ellas son imagen verdadera de todas las pasiones humanas, debéis advertir, que proprios defectos vuestros son, los que allí se representan, para que mejor podáis en sujetos estraños percebir su fealtad, y aborrecerla, pues que ninguno bien en sí mismo la conosce'(6). Elsewhere Salas states that all those who are acting on the stage of life are full of self-interest (18).

(59) Comments made by E.F. Watling, in the introduction to his translation of Seneca's tragedies: Four Tragedies and Octavia (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 25.

(60) For his use of figurar see notes 32 and 58 of this chapter; for imagen verdadera see note 58 of this chapter; the phrase vivamente retratado occurs in the following context: 'Algo pues por ambas acciones [tragedias y comedias] spaciad [sic] el discurso, para que en ellas vivamente os halléis retratados, y acreditada también la verdad, que se oculta en mi fingimiento'(El theatro scénico, ed. cit., 7); Salas uses the mirror metaphor twice: 'No pues se armen de oprobios hoy contra mí las melancólicas hipocresías, porque Oficina me juzguen de el pecado; su Espejo soy, no su Oficina, contra sí vuelvan las indignaciones, si feos y horribles en mí se hallaren referidos. Pues no de otra suerte sería contra el Espejo injusto el enojo, de el que siendo deforme, si viese en él de aquella manera repetido'(El theatro scénico, 6); for mentir see 10-11: 'Ciudades son fingidas en la apariencia engañosa de mi Scena, cuya mentida representación también llega sólo a permanecer en el spacio [sic] breve de la Fábula'; for epítome see 16: 'Aprended pues en la Moral Filosofía de mi Escuela avisos y escarmientos, donde, como en Epítome, hallaréis comprehendida la condición de el hombre; compare with this his use of the phrase imagen succincta in the following statement: 'la principal figura he sido de mis representaciones, significando mudo en imagen succincta el habitable globo de tierra'(5).

(61) Idea de la comedia de Castilla [Madrid, 1635], in José Sánchez, Academias literarias del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1961), 84.

(62) 'Las ideas dramáticas de Pellicer de Tovar', in RFE XLVI (1963), 142.

(63) For example: 'Fáltame hablar de las redondillas y quintillas, que sólo las permito para enlazar la maraña de la Comedia, y que sirvan a los poetas lo que la linaza a los pintores, que sólo es útil para atar los colores'(Idea de la comedia, ed. cit., 85); for pintar to mean 'character portrayal', see his fifteenth and nineteenth precepts, 87 and 88.

(64) Francisco Barreda, Invectiva a las comedias que prohibió Trajano, y apología por las nuestras [Madrid, 1622], in Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva, 200-201.

(65) Jean-Louis Flecniakoska, 'L'Horreur morale et l'horreur matérielle dans quelques tragédies espagnoles du XVIe siècle', in Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la Renaissance, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1964), 72.

(66) 'Seneca, Virués, Lope de Vega', 116.

(67) Raymond R. MacCurdy, 'La tragédie néo-Sénéquienne en Espagne au XVIIe siècle, et particulièrement le thème du tyran', in Les tragédies, ed. Jacquot, 73-85.

(68) See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España (Madrid, 1904), 424a and 371a.

(69) Bruce Wardropper has surveyed the modern body of thought and interpretation relating to the question of what constituted a comedia, in 'The implicit craft of the Spanish «comedia»', in Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age presented to Edward M. Wilson, ed. R.O. Jones (London: Tamesis, 1973), 339-56.

(70) For the first point of view see, for example, José Antonio Maravall, who interprets the comedia as propaganda for a stratified society; for him the dramatists provided myths that did not correspond to the reality of life, and consequently the comedia 'no puede tomarse como una imagen fiel de la sociedad' (Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca, Madrid, 1972, 15-16, 36-38, 45, quotation: 21). Though Maravall's interpretation certainly contains valid points, he seems too sure that all playwrights always subscribed to the myths perpetuated as propaganda for the ruling classes. For a contrasting line of argument see Margarete Newels on the exploration of the comic potential of the upper classes (Los géneros dramáticos, 149), and see also Jack Sage on Lope's El perro del hortelano as a play mirroring the superficial stability of contemporary life, and poking fun at the (hitherto immune) serious figures of society. ('The context of comedy: Lope de Vega's «El perro del hortelano» and related plays', in Studies presented to Edward M. Wilson, 1973, 247-66).

(71) Jack H. Parker, 'Lope de Vega's Arte nuevo de hacer comedias: post-centenary reflections', in Hispanic Studies in Honor of Nicholson B. Adams, ed. John Esten Keller and Karl-Ludwig Selig (Chapel Hill, 1966), 114.

(72) Luis Morales Polo, Epítome de los hechos y dichos del emperador Trajano (Madrid, 1806: first [posthumous] edition, Valladolid, 1654), 92.

(73) Quoted in Sánchez Cantón, Fuentes, III, 22.

(74) 'El autor que remeda a la naturaleza, es como retratador, y el que remeda al que remedó a la naturaleza, es simple pintor. Así que el poema que inmediatamente remeda a la naturaleza y arte, es como retrato, y el que remedó al retrato, es como simple pintor': in Philosophía antigua poética 3 vols, ed. Alfredo Carballo Picazo (Madrid, 1953), I, 197; also quoted and discussed by Sanford Shepard in his study, El Pinciano y las teorías literarias del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1970), 47.

(75) Quoted in Newels, 185; Ruth Lee Kennedy says of Sánchez de MorataIla that 'his basic thesis is that art must imitate nature, but it must imitate the spirit of the period in which the dramatist is writing, not that of the classic past': see 'Attacks on Lope and his theatre in 1617-21', Hispanic Studies in Honor of Nicholson B. Adams, ed. John Esten Keller and Karl-Ludwig Selig (Chapel Hill, 1966), 9: note 5 (her italics).

(76) Loa de la Comedia, quoted in Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva, 97.

(77) See Newels, 80, note 35. For Carvallo's four quotations of Cicero's dictum, see Cisne de Apolo 2 vols, ed. Alberto Porqueras Mayo (Madrid, 1958), II, 14, 17, 26 and 30.

(78) For example, in Mira de Amescua's play, La Fénix de Salamanca, Juan reflects on Mencía's beauty as 'un paraíso terreno cifrado en su boca' and 'un cielo sereno en toda junta pintado', in Teatro vol. 3, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: CC, 1973), 195. For another popular usage of cifra, compare Rodrigo Fernández de Ribera's dedication of his book: 'donde como en moneda breve ha cifrado mi deseo el geroglífico de mi voluntad', in Mesón del Mundo (Madrid, 1631), 'Al Marqués de Estepa'.

(79) Carvallo states that comedy is 'una cifra para vivir los pueblos y particulares sin peligro de vida', and then gives the same definition, without any attribution, in Latin: 'comedia est pribatae civlis [sic] fortunae sine periculo vitae comprehensio'(26-27).

(80) Quoted in Newels, 167.

(81) Francisco Cascales, Tablas poéticas ed. Benito Brancaforte (Madrid: CC, 1975), 37; all references are to this edition. Compare Bernard Weinberg, 'Robortello on the Poetics', in Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern, ed. R.S. Crane (Chicago, 1952), 347.

(82) So 'effinxerit' becomes 'pintare', and 'exprimi' becomes 'pintar': see CC edition, 82, including editor's note.

(83) A. Porqueras Mayo, 'El Arte Nuevo de Lope de Vega o la loa dramática a su teatro', HR LIII (1985), 399-414.

(84) I have used the text as presented by Juan Manuel Rozas in his Significado y doctrina del «Arte Nuevo» de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1976), 181-94. References are to line numbers.

(85) See line 130: 'pintaros esta máquina confusa', and line 146: 'que todo lo de agora está confuso'.

(86) Juan Manuel Rozas, Significado y doctrina, 68.

(87) Lope, El castigo sin venganza, ed. C.F.A. Van Dam (Salamanca: Anaya, 1968), 44 (lines 214-25).

(88) See Acad.N. XI, 186-87.

(89) Lines 253 and 269-70. Cf. 'se ha de imitar a los que hablan'(266) and 'sólo ha de imitar lo verisímil'(285).

(90) 'Mil y quinientas fábulas admira/ que la mayor el número parece,/ verdad que desmerece/ por parecer mentira;/ pues más de ciento en horas veinticuatro/ pasaron de las Musas al Teatro./ No apruebo este furor por admirarte,/ mas ya vimos Luquetos, y Ticianos/ pintar con las dos manos/ sin ofender al Arte;/ que diestros puede haber, cuando presumas/ como de dos espadas, de dos plumas.'(Egloga a Claudio, in Obras sueltas vol. 1, facsimile edition, El ayre de la almena: Textos literarios rarísimos, vol. 19, Cieza, 1968, fols 9^{v}-10^{r}).

(91) Tratado de las comedias en el qual se declara si son lícitas (Barcelona, 1618), fol. 2^{r}. The writer may have been Jaime Ferrer.

(92) Quoted in Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 252a.

(93) Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 203a; also quoted and discussed by Jack Sage, 'Texto y realización de La estatua de Prometeo y otros dramas musicales de Calderón', in Hacia Calderón: Coloquio anglogermano, Exeter, 1969 ed. Hans Flasche (Berlin, 1970), 40.

(94) Francisco Ortiz, Apología en defensa de las comedias que se representan en España (1609-14) ed. Louis C. Pérez (Estudios de Hispanófila, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1977).

(95) Miguel Sánchez de Lima, El arte poética en romance castellano [1580], ed. Rafael de Balbín Lucas (Madrid, 1944), 87. Francisco Pacheco (1638) uses the term compuesto to mean the pictorial composition, in phrases like 'la cumplida perfección del compuesto'(Arte de la pintura, I, 82-83).

(96) See Arthur Terry, 'The continuity of Renaissance criticism: poetic theory in Spain between 1535 and 1650', BHS XXXI (1954), 29 and 32.

(97) For other references to Spanish choler in relation to literature, compare Gonzalo Argote de Molina: 'Los ingenios de a[h]ora como son algo coléricos, no sufren la lerdez y espacio de esta compostura por parescer muy flegmático y de poco donaire y arte': Discurso sobre la poesía castellana [1575], ed. E.F. Tiscornia, Madrid, 1926, 39. Compare also Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos: 'Todo esto es el argumento y disposición deste libro: en que de industria con mucha brevedad y resolución (según requiere nuestra cólera Española)...[etc.]': Noticia general, Madrid, 1600, third page of prologue. Compare also Juan del Encina: 'porque los modernos gozan de la brevedad': Arte de poesía castellana [1505] quoted in Menéndez Pelayo, Ideas estéticas, I, 523. Compare Lope: 'Sois en cólera español,/ que nunca aguardan mañana': La hermosa Alfreda, Acad.N. VI, 239b.

(98) 'La tragicomedia es/ un principio, cuya tela/ (aunque para en alegrías)/ en mortal desdicha empieza', in 'A un licenciado que deseaba hacer comedias'(PDV I, 627). Ricardo de Turia uses the comparison with the 'diestro pintor' and the 'pequeña tabla deste Teatro' again in the loa to La belígera española (PDV II, 517a).

(99) Francisco Cascales, 'En defensa de las comedias y representación de ellas. Epístola III: al Apolo de España, Lope de Vega', in Cartas filológicas 3 vols, ed. J. García Soriano (Madrid: CC, 1952), II, 38-70.

(100) Quoting Martín Antonio del Río (1593), Cascales states that 'en la tragedia se nos propone la vida y costumbres que habemos de huir y abominar, y en la comedia el género de vida que nos conviene seguir'(52).

(101) See page 69; the editor, García Soriano, quotes a very similar presentation of this argument from Cascales' Tablas poéticas. Compare Minturno's version: 'perchè molto ci diletta il mirare l'imagini ben dipinte di quelle cose, che non senza tristizia dell'animo veggiamo; quali sono i morti, e le crudeli fiere': see

L'arte poetica del signor Antonio Minturno (Naples, 1725; first edition, 1563), 7. Compare also Faustino Summo: 'Onde Arist[oteles] dice; & ce lo conferma la esperienza, che tutti gli huomeni son terrati da vu instinto naturale a dilettarsi della imitatione delle cose, perche anco molti obietti per se stessi di brutta & horribil vista s'offeriscono grati & giocondi a gli occhi humani, se sono ritratti, & imitati, & con colori, o con parole, o con altrò'(Discorsi poetici, Padua, 1600, fol. 5ᵛ).

(102) Ruth Lee Kennedy, 'Attacks on Lope and his theatre in 1617-21', see note 75 to this chapter for full reference.

(103) Barreda, Invectiva a las comedias que prohibió Trajano, y apología por las nuestras, in Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva, 1965, 191-201; Tirso de Molina, epilogue to El vergonzoso en palacio, ed. Américo Castro (Madrid: CC, 1970), 141-46.

(104) Covarrubias registers the figurative use of the noun lima: 'Se toma algunas veces por la corrección y emienda [sic] que se hace en la escritura, de que usan más comúnmente los latinos'; in his book of emblems, he links limar with painting as well as literature: 'Aquel famoso pintor Apeles, después de haber acabado una tabla, no sabía alzar la mano della, hasta que sus amigos le escondían los pinceles, y colores. Convencido dellos, escribía en un ángulo de la tabla, «Apeles pingebat»: pareciéndole que siempre había que enmendar, que poner, y que quitar. Cualquiera que ha de sacar a luz una obra, límela primero muy bien, y lámala, imitando a la Osa [the emblematic image]'(Emblemas morales, facsimile of 1610 edition, ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante, Madrid, 1978, 'centuria' I, no. 40). Castiglione uses the expression 'limare i scritti' (Boscán: 'limar sus escritos'), while in France, the expression 'langaige [sic] mal lymé' is employed by Clément Marot in 1533 (see Il libro del cortegiano ed. Ettore Bonora, Milan, 1976, 26; El cortesano, 1994 edition, 93; Bernard Weinberg, Critical Prefaces of the French Renaissance, Evanston, 1950, 67).

(105) The term traza referred to the sketched plan of, for example, an architect (see Covarrubias on traça, arquetypo and idea), and by extension meant 'design'; Cervantes, for example, has his 'canónigo' in the Quijote refer to plays 'que llevan traza' and 'con trazas verisímiles', while Juan de la Cueva refers to 'la invención, la gracia y traza'(see Sánchez Escribano and Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva, 104, 106 and 118). Cervantes refers in 1615 to 'las trazas artificiosas en todo extremo del licenciado Miguel Sánchez', and to 'el rumbo, el tropel [Covarrubias: 'ruido de mucha gente'], el boato, la grandeza de las comedias de Luis Vélez de

Guevara [and two other dramatists]'('prólogo' to Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, in Preceptiva, 144-45).

(106) For example: 'cuyas hijas pintó tan desenvueltas' and 'la ignorancia de doña Serafina (pintada en lo demás, tan avisada), que enamorándose de su retrato [etc.]'(141-42).

(107) Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez y Ribera, from El donado hablador Alonso, quoted in Cotarelo, Bibliografía, 52b.

(108) See the discussion by A. Porqueras Mayo and F. Sánchez Escribano of the new literary terminology that Pellicer de Tovar uses: 'Las ideas dramáticas de Pellicer de Tovar', RFE XLVI (1963), 147.

Chapter 4: A brief survey of the painting theme in the Spanish theatre before 1590.

Drama has always used portraits and painted images in its action: Aristotle, for example, tells how in a play a character 'bursts into tears on seeing the portrait'(Poetics, 53). In Indian drama between AD 400 and 800, and in Chinese Yüan plays of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of the stage portrait devices which later develop into conventions in Spanish theatre (for example, amor por el retrato) are already explored.[1] In Italian theatre of the fifteenth century both the portrait and the painter were well-established features: two plays written in Latin between 1430 and 1460 include episodes where painters are sent on missions, and portraits placed before a king for his approval.[2] Sixteenth-century plays, written in the vernacular, also contained related themes: Aretino's La Cortigiana of 1525 features a swindling painter, while an anonymous scenario for a pastoral tragicomedy called Li ritratti shows characters kissing and talking to pictures, as well as comparing portrait and original; both of these devices find their way into the Spanish comedia (the second as the process called cotejar).[3] The comic potential, too, of both the painter and his artwork evidently formed part of the commedia dell'arte repertoire.[4] Sixteenth-century Spanish dramatists also wrote scenes which alluded to painting and which required actual portraits on the stage, and I shall examine the most interesting examples.

Gil Vicente's Tragicomedia de don Duardos (c.1522) includes a sustained pictorial conceit in the declaration of love which don Duardos makes to Flérida.[5] The notion which runs through his speeches is that beautiful women are like images painted by God; he considers first his temerity in appearing before his beloved in his lowly disguise as a gardener: 'en tan disforme visaje y vil figura'; he wonders how his unworthy eyes can contemplate hers ('los [ojos] más divinos que los dioses matizaron con sus manos': 181-82). It soon becomes clear that we are meant to interpret the verb matizar as a reference to painting when don Duardos compares the beautiful women he has seen with Flérida:

> Porque yo vide a Melisa[,]
> esposa de Recendó,
> que Dios pintó; [...]
> vi Gridonia, una sola
> imagen de gran hazaña
> entre las bellas. [...]
> Mas, con vuesa hermosura,
> parecen mozas de aldea
> con ganado;
> parecen viejas pinturas, [...]
> Son unas sombras de vos
> y figuras de unos paños
> de Granada.(183)

Here is an early example of the woman-as-image theme, which links with the notion of the lover's idolatry and which later develops into a conventional response to the portrait of the beloved. This particular device is explored in the Celestina and more insistently in the Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia (pub. 1542), where the besotted Lisandro says of Roselia that 'Dios soberanamente se esmeró con su pincel en el debujo de su fermosura'; he continues in this idolatrous vein, referring to Roselia as 'soberana pintura' and 'seráfica imagen', and is

duly warned against committing heresy.[6] Gil Vicente's introduction of the rather quaint but strongly visual comparison with old (and perhaps faded) paintings is a variation on the theme which later dramatists do not seem to develop.

In the same play, Gil Vicente later suggests the idea of empathy between Flérida and the images that surround her. As she wanders in the orchard, reflecting on her own sadness (and don Duardos' apparent happiness) in love, she compares the orchard in bloom with the withered gardens depicted in the tapestries in her room: in these 'paños' the figures seem to cry in sympathy with her, while the gardens, woven in golden silk, have gone rusty because of the tears she has shed on them.[7] Later dramatists, for example Lope, Calderón and Moreto explore the dramatic potential and the psychological dimension of confronting or surrounding characters with images that reflect their predicament or their temperament.[8]

The plays of Lope de Rueda also incorporate portraits and the idea of portraiture, and in two cases the context is Arcadian. In the Colloquio de Camila, the shepherd Quiral explains how he carves in wood the faces of the beautiful nymphs who live in the neighbourhood; furthermore, the face of his beloved Camila obsesses him so much that he has carved her image ('figura y estampa') on his crook.[9] This particular theme dates back at least to Virgil's Eclogues, although Lope de Rueda's source was probably Italian. The Arcadian setting of the Colloquio de las prendas de amor (pub. 1567), judging by the style and the structure of the playlet, was intended as

a convenient disguise for a 'cuestión de amor' composed (probably) to entertain a noble audience. In it Simón and Menandro, who both love Cilena, ask her to resolve their arguments by declaring whom she prefers. She seems to consider their love misguided, and the tokens she leaves them with are meant to disillusion them. The rivals are left to study the gifts and the motto written on each:

> Men. A mí diome un corazón,
> con un letrero esmaltado.
> Sim. Y a mí su rostro pintado
> al vivo en gran perfición,
> también lleva su letrero.
> Men. ¿Qué dice?
> Sim. «Mira y verás
> en mí cuanto tú querrás,
> dichoso Simón cabrero,
> ques[sic] lo que deseas más».(315)

The dispute remains unresolved; Simón thinks he is favoured because Cilena has given him 'su rostro al vivo esculpido'(315), in what he later addresses as 'retrato delicado' and 'empresa de mi pena'(316). Perhaps we should envisage a carved and painted face. How specific is the language? The descriptive terms may be unintentionally vague: esculpir and retratar were sometimes interchangeable in an indiscriminate way. The adjective delicado could be applied in a specific manner to painting (see above, pp. 37 and 64), but here the need to rhyme with 'afortunado' is more likely to have dictated the choice of word. The phrase pintado al vivo had long since become a mere formula, while en gran perfición, also a formula (in artistic contracts), was more likely to mean 'completed' than 'perfect': for example, Covarrubias defines perfeto as 'lo que está acabado'.[10] The addition of a motto to the portrait (there is one for the heart too) is

more interesting: although common enough in Elizabethan images, this combination is rare in Spanish Golden-Age theatre. In our example, the motto on each image is (appropriately) ambiguous, probably because the key to its interpretation was bound up with the occasion for which the play was composed.[11] Unusually, the gift of the portrait (and of the heart) is not a clear token of love: if anything, it is quite the contrary, if only the overjoyed rivals could interpret the mottoes correctly. They seem quite likely to get no more from Cilena than these images. She promises to give each suitor an answer in the majada, which could mean a sheepfold, a shepherd's lodging or sheepdung; perhaps the irony and the humour lie in the fact that the venue for the lovers' tryst is as ambiguous as the mottoes on the tokens, with the outside possibility that one or both suitors might just be lured into a dungheap in the service of love. There is clearly more to this playlet than at first meets the eye, and the portrait forms part of that ambiguity.

The Comedia Eufemia (pub. 1567), also by Lope de Rueda, contains an early version of the amor por el retrato theme, where Valiano all but falls in love with the verbal picture of Eufemia that her brother paints (pintar) for him.[12] Around 1579 Juan de la Cueva takes this theme a step further and dramatizes the process of falling in love with a portrait (see below, p. 241), thereby initiating in the Spanish theatre a device which was still a winner with audiences after 1700. As far as I know, there are no painters in sixteenth-century Spanish drama, although the legendary skill of Apelles serves

Lope de Rueda to illustrate the notion of the perfect copy when Angélica and her 'lost' brother Medoro (disguised as a woman) seem indistinguishable to onlookers in the Comedia Medora:

> Casandro. Ciertamente es cosa maravillosa. Y digo que si aquel Apeles, único en el arte de la pintura, fuera vivo, no bastara a dibujar en tabla o en lienzo una cosa que tanto se le paresciese.[13]

Apelles and, to a lesser extent, Zeuxis haunt the literature of the Golden Age as bywords for artistic mastery in a whole range of contexts. Indeed, the Valencian Tomás Cerdán de Tallada (writing between 1591 and 1616) personifies the God who painted the Veronica as 'soberano Apeles'.[14] However, painters (including Apelles) appear on the stage in England before they begin to feature as characters in the Spanish comedia, and I shall examine that process in my Chapter 8.

The Tragedia Seraphina by Alonso de la Vega, published in 1566, hinges on Seraphina's infatuation with the beauty of Cupid, and later includes a heraldic portrait scene. The process starts with a dream, as is explained in the argumento which precedes the play:

> La doncella soñó una noche que había de ser casada con el más lindo hombre del mundo. No faltó quien le dijo, que el más lindo hombre era el Amor.[15]

When Seraphina consults a doctor (a comic figure) to see if he can explain who the man is in her dream, she is told that it must be Cupid, since he is undoubtedly the most handsome man of all. Marimarta, Seraphina's confidante, finds her friend's predicament quite ridiculous:

> Qué desatino del diablo, enamorarse de una cosa tan de aire como es el Amor, sin cuerpo ni figura: porque el amor no es otra cosa, si no una figura desvariada que por los ojos atraviesa.(50)

Cupid soon reacts to Seraphina's strange behaviour, and sends Paris and Narcissus (two of the most handsome men) to her in order to test her resolution, or the degree of her presumption. Refusing both men, she insists that Cupid alone will be the object of her love, complains of his cruelty in hiding from her and implores him to vouchsafe her a glimpse of his beauty:

> Pero Amor, ya que otra cosa no goce si no de tu vista, goce yo de algunas aparencias de tu figura, o por visión, o señales, o pintura, que con ello seré algo satisfecha.(61)

Her request seems to have been answered when two wild men enter carrying a portrait of Cupid, but the foreboding message of the <u>villancico</u> they sing and the harsh words that they speak indicate that all is not well:

> (Entran dos Salvajes cantando. Villancico)
>
> El que de liviano sueño/ se creyere/ irá donde aquésta fuere [...]
>
> <u>Salvaje</u>. Atrevida doncella, primero que nuestra feroz mensajería sepas, se cumplirá el deseo que de ver la figura del Amor y Dios Cúpido tienes: alza los ojos, y ver lo has en este escudo pintado como tú lo has pedido. (62)

The wild men put Seraphina into chains while she is transfixed by the beauty of the image:

> <u>Seraphina</u>. O delicada pintura: agora creo que más hermoso eres que yo pensaba: que pues tan lindo eres en pintura, más lo serás señor en presencia, a cuya causa quedaré más abrasada de tu fuego.(62)

Punishment duly comes for Seraphina in the last scene: following instructions from Cupid, Marco Athanasio (who loves

Seraphina) shoots her with an arrow on the understanding that she will revive to love only him; when she fails to awake instantly he kills himself, and she then recovers to find him dead, and (like Romeo's Juliet) in turn kills herself for love of Marco.

Several points need an explanation: why a portrait on a shield, why the wild men and what does 'delicada pintura' mean? Diego de San Pedro's Cárcel de amor (printed in 1492) helps to answer the first two questions.[16] At the beginning of that work, the narrator describes a strange encounter with a wild man who carries a shield and an image:

> [El caballero salvaje] levaba[sic] en la mano izquierda un escudo de acero muy fuerte, y en la derecha una imagen femenil entallada en una piedra muy clara, la cual era de tan estrema hermosura que me turbaba la vista. Salían della diversos rayos de fuego que levaba encendido el cuerpo de un [h]onbre que el caballero forciblemente levaba tras sí.(116)

The wild man explains that his name is Deseo, the key functionary ('principal oficial') in the Casa de Amor, and proceeds to clarify the meaning of what he brings with him:

> Con la fortaleza deste escudo defiendo las esperanzas, y con la hermosura desta imagen causo las aficiones, y con ellas quemo las vidas, como puedes ver en este preso que llevo a la Cárcel de Amor, donde con sólo morir se espera librar.(116-17)

There are iconographical elements common to both episodes: one wild man here while the play has two (most probably inspired by the symmetry of heraldry); the extreme beauty of the image; the burning fire of love; the shackling of the doomed lover, who has become the slave of his uncontrolled desire, represented by the wildman. In the play the shield and image have been combined, although the allegorical purpose of the

shield in the novel (keeping the lover's hopes alive) seems to have be absent in the play, and instead, if it does contain a meaning, Vega's shield appears to protect Cupid from Seraphina's presumptuous longing to behold him 'en presencia'. Finally, does the phrase 'delicada pintura', which we have already seen employed by Lope de Rueda, imply a specific evaluation of the portrait? Covarrubias and the DRAE link the word delicado with delgado in the figurative sense of 'sutil e ingenioso', and the modern dictionary also offers the following synonyms: 'primoroso, fino, exquisito, bien parecido, agraciado'. While, as in the case of Lope de Rueda's Colloquio de las prendas de amor, the term delicado described a particular type of painting style distinguishable to the trained eye, we are more likely to be dealing here with a formulaic response intended to convey an unspecified notion of excellence.

The allegorical play Triunfo de Llaneza, written around 1577 by Fray Ignacio de Buendía (but only recently published), contains some interesting pictorial motifs.[17] The author explains his intentions with appropriate modesty: his work may have 'cojos versos y tosca composición', but can claim to display some 'gracioso artificio'; the meaning of the play, which was not designed for 'necios y maldicientes', has to be deciphered since 'quise mal pintar un caso verdadero que debajo deste general coloquio va disfrazado'(35-36). In the play itself 'Curiosidad' and 'Llaneza' argue over who is the most worthy to marry 'Descanso'; 'Curiosidad' describes herself in such glowing terms that 'Llaneza' feels bound to

criticize her and set the record straight ('sin ficiones'), outlining her own credentials in more modest terms:

> Pintas, Curiosidad, tan falsamente
> y tan injustamente tus riquezas,
> y apocas a Llaneza de tal suerte,
> que a ti te pintas fuerte y poderosa.[...]
> Entiende que Llaneza, llanamente
> sin usar de torrente y artificio,
> dará a entender tu vicio a todo el mundo.(37)

They decide that 'Justicia' will judge which of them should marry 'Descanso', who (like 'Cuidado') longs to marry 'Llaneza'. 'Descanso' condemns life in the town, which has been ruined by 'Curiosidad', and praises the purity of the countryside where the wind scatters flowers to form 'mantas pintadas con diversas laborcitas' and the meadows are 'con las flores matizados'(47). 'Curiosidad' courts 'Descanso' and 'Cuidado' courts 'Llaneza', but both in vain. 'Justicia' then complains that she is now scorned where once she was valued by mankind, who should use her as their example and not distort her with base representations of justice:

> Si [h]ubiera entendimiento
> que sano y libre fuera,
> y no estuviera con culpa estragado,
> sin duda alguna siento
> que a mí sola tuviera
> el Mundo por espejo y por dechado. [...]
>
> En Dios soy sublimada;
> tengo allí mis favores;
> allí está muj[sic] perfecta mi figura;
> tiénenme acá pintada
> con tan bajos colores,
> que a mí misma me ofende mi pintura.(59-60)

'Curiosidad' and 'Llaneza' resume their dispute, the first claiming that her works display 'mil primores', while the second asserts that there is no 'primor' superior to the natural world created by God. 'Curiosidad', she says, has

adulterated and disfigured everything in her path: 'Con las armas que inventaste,/ debajo de un buen color,/ la vida al mundo quitaste'(68). The final judgement of 'Justicia' condemns the self-satisfied description that 'Curiosidad' has given of her achievements in the world:

> Curiosidad [h]a pintado
> muj al vivo lo que pasa
> en el mundo y a mostrado
> que, si a Justicia [h]a llamado,
> no la quiere por su casa.(74)

In his introduction, E.M. Wilson points out that in the Middle Ages curiositas was viewed as a vice which led men astray, even towards the Devil; he summarizes the message of the play as 'la curiosidad trae consigo bienes aparentes, pero falsos y pecaminosos'(24). In the text of the play words like artificio, pintar, pintura and color are used to convey the falseness of the images created by 'Curiosidad', and are set against the pure and the natural. Once again we can see the all-too-human pintura of Justice (distorted beyond recognition) unfavourably contrasted with the espejo and dechado of the ideal. In the prologue, on the other hand, the dramatist claims to 'paint' with 'artifice': here again is confirmation that the painting metaphor was a double-edged weapon, which could as easily be used to undermine as to promote creativity.

The ambiguous status of the visual image, and by implication the sense of sight, was an important theme in religious drama, most especially in plays devised to illustrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Even in the 'scientific' speculation of Pedro Mexía (writing around 1547) sight may be quicker than

the other senses ('hace ventaja y es más presto que los otros sentidos'), but it can also be deceived; similarly, for Francisco Pacheco (1638) sight is 'no el más cierto sentido', despite being 'el más noble sentido'.[18] Faith demanded belief without ocular proof, and in this context the ear took precedence over the eye. The anonymous Farsa del sacramento de los cinco sentidos explores this particular line of argument, which later became a key feature of Calderón's autos sacramentales.[19] In this playlet the five senses, 'faith' and a simpleton shepherd discuss and demonstrate the need to hear and believe the holy truth of the bread rather than relying on the visual evidence. The character 'Ver' is mystified by the Eucharist:

> Yo que alcanzo a conoscer
> todo aquello qu'es visible,
> [¿]cómo no alcanzo aquí a ver
> más qu'el pan sin otro ser?
> y es Dios inconprehensible [sic].(317)

The character 'Fee' explains that unquestioning belief is needed: 'cre[e]rse de sólo oílla, sin dubdalla ni arguilla. [...] yo creo lo que hee oído y oiré'(317-18); 'Oír' states that he and 'Fee' are in agreement ('bien avenidos') on the matter. Then the remaining three senses try, and fail, to discover more than the bread before them: as 'Palpar' concludes 'si en ello hay otra cosa, mi sentido no lo siente'(319). 'Fee' explains that God is hidden in the bread 'por arte maravillosa', and then she and the five senses spend the remainder of the playlet convincing a literal-minded pastor bobo of this mystical truth. In the course of their explanation the senses, starting with 'Oír', explain who they

are to him, and (interestingly) it is 'Ver' who acknowledges the supremacy of 'Oír': 'el primer sentido es ése'(324). The bobo is finally ready to accept the mystery summarized by 'Fee' in the following terms:

> Que allí está transustanciado
> el Criador en criatura;
> lo antiguo fue la figura
> y este pan lo figurado.(326)

At the close of the playlet 'Oír' invites everyone to join him and 'Fee' in celebrating the mystery of the Eucharist.

The eye could therefore be deceived by the images it saw, especially since the Devil had the power to adopt figuras designed to tempt man into sin. Spanish theatre of the Siglo de Oro contains many instances of Satan's visual trickery, so earnestly summarized in this Tratado from 1529:

> Ninguno debe dudar de diversas figuras que el demonio puede fingir, y toma y finge las veces que quiere; algunas veces para engañar, otras veces para espantar; porque no sólo la razón lo demuestra [...] Lo mismo puede hacer para con sus ministros, que también los puede mostrar y llevar en la figura que él quisiere sin perder nada de su sustancia y figura. E también puede hacer que del todo no los vean, haciéndolos invisibles, como la vista se canse [sic: this should perhaps read 'cause'?] mediante los rayos visuales, que de la cosa visible proceden, según se demuestra en la perspectiva. Podría hacer el demonio que aquellos rayos visuales se tejiesen de tal suerte que mostrasen la figura que él quisiese, o se desviasen de tal manera que no precediesen adelante a los ojos presentes; [..] y así puede ser que el demonio invisiblemente lleve a sus ministros, o en la figura que él quisiere. [...] Claro está que ninguno puede ser engañado del demonio, salvo por su propio consentimiento expreso o oculto.[20]

There were other limits to the Devil's capacity to trick his victims with figuras. For example, the anonymous Aucto de la Paciencia de Job shows Satan requesting and being granted permission (licencia) by God to tempt Job, while a romance reinforces this idea of 'divino mandamiento'; it is not long

before we see a demonstration of his Protean nature as he enters 'como pobre, pidiendo limosna'(BAE LVIII, 29b-30a and 33a); in later sacramental plays, like Lope's Viaje del alma (before 1604), the term figura is again used in this context: 'el demonio en figura de marinero'(BAE LVIII, 154b). But the figura could just as soon be a Divine ploy as one of Satan's astucias; Timoneda's Aucto de la oveja perdida (around 1575) features both Christ and St. Peter 'en figura de pastor'(BAE LVIII, 81-82). Lucifer could concoct all manner of machinations (máquinas) to achieve his ends.[21] Despite the subtler limitations imposed on the Devil's capacity to deceive the eyes, discussed by A.A. Parker in conjunction with Calderón's autos sacramentales, there was clearly a strong case to be made for trusting the ear rather than the eye.[22] Devotion to any but the recognized images was a moral minefield, as Castañega explains when discussing the acceptability of the nómina (a relic inscribed with the name of a saint) as an object of piety:

> No están vedadas las nóminas que por devoción se traen y de presumir es piadosamente que Dios mirará a su devoción, y le socorrerá en sus necesidades. Lo cual no haría, salvo el demonio, si confiase en aquellas condiciones, palabras y figuras supersticiosas y sospechosas que en algunas nóminas se suelen poner. Ninguno debe traer por reliquias cosas no conocidas, y que no están autorizadas por los perlados y gobernadores de la Iglesia, porque no den honra a quien no la merece, ni confundan las reliquias verdaderas con las falsas.(Tratado, 82)

Covarrubias explains that the custom of carrying nóminas, once 'muy lícito y religioso', was eventually so tainted by abuse that by his time they were forbidden: 'están vedadas del todo'. Since, as Berceo and others after him warn us, the

Devil could adopt the form of even an angel, no image could be guaranteed free of risk.[23]

Juan de la Cueva exploits this theme of the false image in two of his plays, for both comic and serious dramatic effect. In the Comedia del tutor (first performed in 1579) Licio dresses up as a devil one night in order to scare the wits out of Leotacio and Astropo.[24] When he invites them to accompany him to Hell, both of his victims believe that they are surrounded by flames, and fear makes Astropo's imagination run wild:

> Una figura espantosa,
> con una llama furiosa
> por cabeza, ojos y cara
> [...] al Diablo vimos.(380)

As a result of Licio's practical joke Astropo, a criado fanfarrón, flees to Salamanca and gladly leaves Leotacio in Seville 'donde vea fantasmas que lo nombren/ y con formas diabólicas lo asombren'(383).

There is more supernatural transformation in Cueva's play El infamador (acted in 1581).[25] Cueva introduces Venus into the action to urge Eliodora (unsuccessfully) to return Leucino's love; in order to attempt this, Venus adopts and later relinquishes the shape (forma) of Felicina, Eliodora's handmaid, whom she has ordered Morpheus to put to sleep for that purpose (24 and 45). The goddess Diana also enters the action to save Eliodora from execution, but instead of adopting a disguise as Venus had done, she controls events by transforming one thing into another and causing images to appear, including the images which the audience think (throughout the whole of the third act) that two witches have

conjured on Leucino's behalf (58 and 65). Diana's power to perform what she calls prodigios matches and triumphs over the efforts of her rival Venus.

The magical conjuring of images and illusions is a theme which Cervantes also explores in La destruición de Numancia (c.1581-85), where the wizard Marquina invokes 'los feroces espíritus malignos de la región oscura' and resuscitates a dead body which foretells doom for Numancia.[26] Leoncio continues to dismiss these wonders (prodigios) as empty illusions (vanas apariencias: 95 and 103), but the predictions come true. Daniel Rogers has taken up this point:

> Behind the affirmations of the theologians, there seems to have been a contradiction [not explored by some scholars]. On the one hand magical powers were false ('burla e mentira'): on the other hand they were a real evil proceeding from the devil.[27]

Covarrubias' definition of ilusión reinforces this important consideration; he begins with 'vale tanto como burla' and then states that 'el demonio es gran maestro de ilusiones'. His explanations of the duende and the trasgo do not question the existence of figuras which are controlled by supernatural forces.[28]

Juan de la Cueva is probably the first Spanish dramatist to include an actual portrait, in this case of a woman, in a play. In the comedia del tutor the lady in question is Aurelia, who has returned the love of Otavio. Meanwhile Dorildo, Otavio's guardian (the tutor) also loves Aurelia, and finally persuades Otavio to leave Seville and complete his education in Salamanca; this ruse leaves him free to court Aurelia, but without success. In two separate episodes the

portrait of Aurelia is first described (to Otavio by his servant, Licio) and then shown by Otavio to Leotacio. The poetic pintura contains many themes already established in iconic poetry of the period:

> Sabrás que yo vi el retrato
> de Aurelia, que te enajena,
> de todo punto acabado,
> con tal [sic] alta perfeción,
> que si el vivo da pasión,
> también la dará el pintado.(Obras, I, 332)

The painter has worked sutilmente, and his portrayal of her eyes indicates superhuman skill: 'Tan al vivo [h]a trasladado, que no fue de hombre su vuelo'(332-33); the painter did not dare to show much of her pearl-like teeth, but painted the whiteness of her face 'tan al natural', and in the overall achievement 'mostró el pintor grande ingenio, cual verás'(333). The hair-downwards order of the pintura follows the pattern which Gareth Davies has shown to be the norm.[29] The praise of the painter's skill is mostly a rhetorical exercise, emphasizing the degree of the lady's beauty. Mostly, but not completely: behind the rhetorical clichés of ecphrasis and iconic verse lay a very real, if unspecified fascination with the process of painting and the skill of the painter. In terms of this play, Cueva's early introduction of the poetic pintura, which conveys the strong effect that the image has had on Licio, prepares the ground for Leotacio to fall in love with Aurelia when Otavio shows him her portrait ('su natural retrato') in the second act (348-49). The amor por el retrato theme is combined with a version of the ever-popular device of engañar con la verdad as Leotacio declares

to Otavio his love for the lady in the portrait while at the same time concealing it (349).

The plays of Cristóbal Virués and Lupercio Leonardo Argensola, which were composed in the 1580s, do not include painters or portraits.[30] However, certain poetic and rhetorical themes based on the notions of painting and the portrait recur in their theatre, in a way that sets a pattern for later drama. As has already been said, the influence of Senecan tragedy on these plays meant that the relación of previous or offstage events was a major feature. In the classical theatre of reported action the messenger either offered or, more frequently, was commanded to recount his news. For example, the following exchange between Chorus and Messenger in Seneca's Thyestes is typical: 'Chorus. Whatever evil you have seen, reveal it. Messenger. A picture of the brutal deed still floats before my eyes. Chorus. Describe this deed you shudder at. Speak without delay.' The Latin original uses the verbs effare, pandere and edere, together with the noun imago.[31] In this context Giraldi Cinthio and Lodovico Dolce use, between them, narrare, dire, fare sapere, raccontare and riferire, while Juan de la Cueva, Virués and Argensola employ the following range of nouns and verbs: cuenta, historia, relación, encarecer, referir, contar, recitar, relatar, significar and declarar.[32] In Elisa Dido and La cruel Casandra Virués uses pintar as a variation, as when, for example, in the second play a character offers an account of a folla (a mock attack on a fortress):

> Antonio. La folla sé que gustarás de oírme.
> Isidro. Que me la pintes como fue te ruego.[33]

In time the verb pintar became the most common choice to designate this process of descriptio in the theatre.

The notion of the portrait was also a factor in the neo-Platonic terminology commonly used at the time to describe the process and effects of love. The lover feels himself transformed into the person of the beloved whose image is painted on his heart; in Virués' Atila furioso Atila declares his love to the captive queen Celia in these terms:

> Mira bien que tu belleza labra
> en un metal, en una endurecida
> piedra de un diamante, que es mi pecho
> y le tiene de ti una imagen hecho.(PDV I, 105b)

In Argensola's Alejandra, Alejandra declares herself to Lupercio in similar fashion: 'Amor te retrató allí [en mi pecho]/ con tan divinos matices'(Obras, ed. cit., 183). This pictorial metaphor becomes a standard feature of the amorous exchanges in the comedia.

To sum up: in Spanish theatre before 1590, which I have surveyed in the briefest way, certain themes crystallized which had a direct or indirect relation to the idea of painting. Classical and Italian sources provided ready-made examples or the raw material, and from them emerged conventions like amor por el retrato, the poetic pintura, the eye-versus-ear debate, the Divine and the devilish figura, and the neo-Platonic retrato of love. The Valencian group of dramatists, following the example of Tárrega, played a key role (along with Lope de Vega) in consolidating the dramatic potential of these themes, and my next chapter will explore the nature of their contribution.

Chapter 4 - Notes

(1) For examples in Indian drama, see Shakuntala and the Ring of Recognition by Kalidasa (c. AD 400), and The Little Clay Cart by an unknown dramatist (between AD 400 and 800), where portraits are brought onto the stage and their quality and likeness assessed (The Genius of the Oriental Theater, ed. G.L. Anderson, New York and Toronto, 1966, 98-100 and 177-78). For examples in Chinese drama, see Autumn in Han Palace by Ma Chih-yüan (1250?-1320?), where a portrait is maliciously spoiled and where the Emperor Hunhanya of Han falls in love with the lady Wang Chao-Chün after contemplating her portrait (Six Yüan Plays, trans. Liu Jung-en, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, 189-202, especially 196-200 and 204-207; different painting themes occur in other plays in this collection, see 71-72, 81, 98 and 100).

(2) See Douglas Radcliff-Umstead, The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy (Chicago and London, 1969), 'Appendix 1' where he outlines the plot of Frulovisi's Oratoria and the anonymous Comoedia sine nomine (251-54).

(3) For details of Aretino's play see Radcliff-Umstead, 269; for the text and translation of Li ritratti see K.M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy 2 vols (Oxford, 1934), II, 555-67.

(4) See the list of titles provided by K.M. Lea, vol. II; for example, Li pittori ladri, Pollicinella pittore and Il ritratto, overo Arlecchino cornuto in suo opinione (544 and 547); cf. 514-15. See also Pierre Louis Duchartre, The Italian Comedy trans. Randolph T. Weaver (Dover edition, New York, n.d., 1st edn, 1966; original edition London, 1929), 40, where a portrait trick that formed part of the commedia dell'arte repertoire is explained.

(5) See Obras dramáticas castellanas, ed. Thomas R. Hart (Madrid: CC, 1968; 1st edn, 1962), 161-227. All references are to this edition.

(6) Sancho de Muñón, Lisandro y Roselia, 1872 edition, 1, 15 and 238; another character refers to Roselia as a 'retrato sacado de la hermosura de Venus', for Lisandro she is the 'espejo de mi vista', and Eubulo warns Lisandro that 'todo te ocupas en tu ídolo'(18, 120 and 270).

(7) 'Flérida. Que en la cámara a do estó/ veo llorar las figuras/ de los paños/ del dolor que siento yo,/ y aquí

crecen las verduras/ con los daños./ Y mis jardines, tejidos/ con seda de oro tirado,/ se amustiaron/ porque mis tristes gemidos,/ teñidos de mi cuidado,/ los tocaron'(214).

(8) See, for example, Lope's La quinta de Florencia (discussed in my Chapter 6). See also Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra (the scene where Juan Roca describes his picture of the jealous Hercules 'en quien pienso que el primor/ unió lo hermoso y lo fiero' - an image conveying his own jealous anguish: CC edition, ed. Angel Valbuena Briones, Madrid, 1956, 217-18). On this scene, see Susan L. Fischer, 'Art-within-art: the significance of the Hercules painting in El pintor de su deshonra', in Critical Perspectives on Calderón de la Barca, ed. David M. Gitlitz and José A. Madrigal (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1981), 68-79. Moreto, in El desdén, con el desdén [c.1653-54], reinforces the aloofness ('esquiva condición') of Diana by explaining that 'sólo adornan sus paredes/ de las ninfas fugitivas/ pinturas que persuaden/ al desdén': see edition by Francisco Rico (Madrid: Castalia, 1971), 72.

(9) Obras 2 vols, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1908), II, 16.

(10) See, for example, some of the contracts reproduced by Esteban García Chico in 'Nuevos documentos para el estudio del arte en Castilla. Siglo XVI. Escultores'; I quote two from the many examples he provides of what seems to have constituted a formula: 'lo hará bien hecho y acabado y en perfeción [sic]' and 'hecha y acabada y asentada en toda perfeción'; see Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología de Valladolid XXIV (1958), 170 and 172.

(11) Menandro's token bears the motto 'Yo no tengo más que dar,/ pues te doy el corazón;/ mas con aqueso garzón,/ no te tienes de gloriar,/ ni mostrar más presunción' (316).

(12) 'Valiano. Volvamos a nuestro propósito, Leonardo, e dime: ¿aquesa hermana tuya, después de ser tan hermosa como dices, es honesta y bien criada? [...] Prosigue, Leonardo, que si ello es ansí como tú lo pintas, podrá ser que se hiciese por ti más de lo que piensas'(Obras I, 50 and 53).

(13) See edition (together with Los engañados) by Fernando González Ollé (Madrid: CC, 1973), 102.

(14) 'Cuartetos a la Verónica', in Cancionero de los Nocturnos 4 vols, ed. F. Martí Grajales (Valencia, 1905-06), IV, 121.

(15) References are to the text in Tres comedias ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, in Gesellschaft Für Romanische Literatur VI (Dresden, 1906), 39-70.

(16) All quotations are from Obras, ed. Samuel Gili Gaya (Madrid: CC, 1967).

(17) I refer to the edition by Edward M. Wilson (Madrid, 1970).

(18) See Pedro Mexía, Diálogos o Coloquios [1547], ed. M.L. Mulroney (Iowa, 1930), 141; compare: 'Tienen estas Cometas [...] tanta similitud con las estrellas en su parecer, que engañándose con el sentido de la vista, muchos creyeron que eran verdaderas estrellas'(143). For Pacheco's comments see Arte de la pintura 2 vols, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, 1956), I, 43 and 73. The eye-ear debate also formed the basis of poetic conceits, as in this example from the 1660s: 'Alejandro. Siendo la vista, señora,/ el más curioso sentido,/ el superior del oído/ tal vez las penas ignora', in 'Fernando de Zárate y Castranovo', El médico pintor San Lucas, in Parte cuarenta de comedias nuevas de diversos autores (Madrid, 1675), fol. 1r.

(19) Text in Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI 4 vols, ed. L. Rouanet (New York, 1901), III, 316-27. For another sixteenth-century reference to the predominance of the ear over the eye, and other senses, see the anonymous Farsa del sacramento del entendimiento niño, in Colección escogida de autos sacramentales desde su origen hasta fines del Siglo XVII ed. Eduardo González Pedroso BAE LVIII (Madrid, 1952), 46-51. Around 1605, Andrés Rey de Artieda develops this theme in his religious poem, 'El Caballero Determinado espiritual [sic]', where he says of the Eucharist that 'siendo sobrenatural el misterio de este altísimo Sacramento: donde los sentidos se engañan, excepto el oído, que da paso, y abre las puertas a la Fe [...] Da puerta a la Fe el oído/ que cualquier otro sentido/ del más recogido y justo,/ vista, tacto, olfacto[sic], y gusto/ no debe ser admitido'(Discursos, epístolas y epigramas de Artemidoro, 1605, fols 111v and 119v). For Calderón's treatment of the theme see, for example, the Loa para el auto sacramental «La vida es sueño»: 'Y pues sentido de Fe/ es solamente el Oído,/ crea el Oído a la Fe,/ y no a los demás sentidos' in Obras completas 3 vols, III: Autos sacramentales, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 1385. Calderón dramatizes the same line of argument in La iglesia sitiada, El maestrazgo del toisón, El nuevo palacio del Retiro and Los encantos de la culpa.

(20) Fray Martín de Castañega, Tratado muy sotil y bien fundado de las supersticiones y hechicerías y vanos conjuros y abusiones, ed. Agustín Amezúa (Madrid, 1946), 47-55.

(21) See, for example, Juan de Caxes' Auto intitulado El espital [ie. Hospital] de San Roque (1609) where Lucifer complains that 'Máchinas [sic] fabrico en vano,/ tiendo redes sin provecho,/ pues mi poder veo desecho/ del más humilde villano'(ed. L. Rouanet in RHi VIII (1901), 100a: lines 81-84). The painter also designs 'máquinas': 'Representastes más quimeras varias/ que la imaginación profunda suele/ del pintor que diseña alguna máquina,/ o el poeta que traza algún discurso'(Lope de Vega, La viuda valenciana, 1595-1603, ed. José Luis Aguirre, Madrid, 1967, 120).

(22) 'The Devil in the Drama of Calderón', in Critical Essays on the Theatre of Calderón, ed. Bruce Wardropper (New York, 1965), 3-23.

(23) In 'El romero de Santiago' the Devil appears to a monk, disguised as an angel, persuading him to commit suicide; as Berceo warns his readers 'semeja a las veces ángel del Criador': see Milagros de Nuestra Señora [c.1250], ed. A.G. Solalinde (Madrid: CC, 1968), 49. Compare, for example, Alemán's Vida de San Antonio de Padua (Seville, 1604), where the author deals in some detail with the powers of the Devil, including his capacity to adopt the figura of Christ (fols 382^{r}-402^{r}, especially fol. 397^{r}).

(24) Comedias y tragedias, 2 vols, ed. F.A. de Icaza (Madrid, 1917), I, 328-402.

(25) Edited (with Los siete infantes de Lara and El ejemplar poético) by F.A. de Icaza (Madrid: CC, 1965), 1-67.

(26) Ed. Alfredo Hermenegildo (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), 98 and 101-02.

(27) Daniel Rogers, reviewing Occult arts and doctrine in the theater of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, by Augusta Espantoso Foley (Geneva, 1972) in BHS LII (1975), 287-88; this reference, 288.

(28) Covarrubias: 'Duende: Es algún espíritu de los que cayeron con Lucifer, de los cuales unos bajaron al profundo, otros quedaron en la región del aire y algunos en la superficie de la tierra, según comúnmente se tiene. Estos suelen dentro de las casas y en las montañas y en las cuevas espantar con algunas apariencias, tomando cuerpos fantásticos; y por esta razón se dijeron trasgos'; 'Trasgo. El espíritu malo que toma alguna forma, o humana o la de algún bruto, como es el cabrón'.

(29) '«Pintura»: Background and Sketch of a Spanish Seventeenth-century Court genre', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXXVIII (1975), 288-313, especially 294.

(30) In Virués' play La gran Semíramis, a portrait of Semiramis is described but never brought on to the stage or linked to the main action of the play; the symbolism of the portrait is explained: 'Diarco. ¡Qué diré de [...] aquel retrato/ que la mitad trenzada del cabello/ y suelta la mitad muestra, mostrando/ que estando en punto tal, le vino aviso/ que Babilonia se le rebelaba,/ y cual estaba así acudió volando/ a dar remedio al daño urgente, y diolo/ antes de dar las trenzas que esperaba/ el dorado cabello al viento suelto!'(PDV I, 55a-b).

(31) English version by E.F. Watling in Four Tragedies and Octavia (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 73. For the Latin original see Tragoediae 2 vols, ed. F. Leo (Berlin, 1878), II, 258.

(32) A few examples will illustrate the point. Dolce's version of the exchange just quoted in Seneca's Thyestes uses 'dimmi' and 'fammi saper'(Le tragedie di Seneca, Venice 1560, fol. 52ʳ); compare Giraldi Cinthio's Orbecche (1541): 'Choro. Narrarci prego, ciò, sia che si voglia;/ Messo. Cosa dirò, se tanto spirto hauere/ potrò'(Le tragedie, Venice, 1583, 90). Dolce's version of Seneca's Troades uses 'racconta' in a similar scene (Le tragedie, Venice, 1560, fol. 184). Juan de la Cueva uses contar consistently in his Comedia del Saco de Roma (1579), contar, recitar and relación in Los siete infantes de Lara (1579) and contar, recitar and significar in El infamador (1581). For example: 'Venus. Y porque detenerme en recitarte/ el caso no conviene'(El infamador, ed. F.A. de Icaza, CC, 20). Compare Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola: 'Ajá. ¿Pero por qué relato por extenso/ el fin de mis maldades tan horrendo? (Isabela), and 'Rey. Relátame su muerte y mi sentencia [...] Acaba de contarnos el suceso'(Alejandra), see Obras sueltas, ed. Conde de la Viñaza, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1889), 160 and 225.

(33) See La cruel Casandra (PDV I, 88a). Compare: 'Abenamita. Que si de otras grandezas os dijese/ y su valor y espíritu pintase,/ juzgaríades bien ser hijo Iarbas/ del grande Amón'(Elisa Dido, PDV I, 161a).

Chapter 5: The painting theme in Valencian drama between 1590 and 1616.

Valencia has been described as 'one of the great centres of the growing comedia', and the drama which 'flourished' there around 1600 has been characterized and studied as the Valencian 'school'.[1] Lope was in Valencia between 1588 and 1590, again in 1599 and once more in 1616, and so it certainly not historically correct to isolate his development from that achieved by the Valencian group in a literary context where mutual influence must have been considerable; we also know, for example, that Tárrega was in Madrid in 1597.[2] Lope, however, is rightly considered a major dramatist while the Valencians (with the possible exception of Guillén de Castro) were talented but essentially minor playwrights. For the sake of convenience I shall examine their treatment of the various painting themes already outlined, and then move on to consider Lope's particular contribution to those areas of drama. I have chosen the date 1616 for several reasons: apart from the fact that all but one of the plays I shall study were certainly composed in or before that year, collections of these plays were published in 1609 and in 1616, thereby reaching a wider audience, and Ricardo del Turia's Apologético (a key manifesto for the comedia, already examined above) achieved national exposure in the 1616 collection.[3] Of thirty plays studied eleven contain episodes where characters handle, exchange and discuss actual portraits. Four plays by Francisco Tárrega will be my starting point, since the first

of them may date from 1590 and all were written before 1602.[4]

In La enemiga favorable (c.1590-95: PDV I) the king and queen of Naples are invited by the king's cousin to look at a small portrait of a Spanish beauty to prove that not all women in Spain (who are reputed to be accomplished face-painters) need to depend on cosmetics:

> Reina. Hasta agora estoy por ver
> de España una buena cara.
> Norandino. Apostemos que te agrada
> aquésta.
>
> (Enseña al Rey un retrato, y luego a la Reina)
>
> Rey. No hay que dudar;
> ¡brava moza!
> Norandino. Y muy honrada.
> Reina. Y se ha dejado pintar
> sólo por verse pintada.
>
> (Mira el retrato)
>
> ¡Buen pelo, buena mujer!
> Risueña está; no hace mal,
> pues viene en tan buen poder.(595-96)

The lady in the portrait is never identified, and the showing of the image is included primarily to set up an exchange (trocar) of this portrait for one of the queen (to impress viewers back in Spain):

> Rey. Acabad, no me deis pena;
> vuestro retrato es mejor;
> dalde al Duque.
> Reina. Enhorabuena;
> aquí le traigo, señor,
> colgado desta cadena.(596)

The exchange of portraits then moves the plot forward when it is used as evidence of a secret love affair. There is no real evaluation of either miniature, although the fact that the Spanish lady is smiling and that the queen is impressed by her hair are interesting details.

In El cerco de Rodas (before 1602: PDV I) there are three portraits, including two of the Moorish princess, Lidora. The first of these portraits, which is not described, is the subject of a proposed fight to the death on the grounds that the lady is dishonoured if anyone but her beloved possesses her image: 'es mengua suya que la mire en una tabla'(268); this is a common theme in the comedia. The second portrait of Lidora has a more interesting function in the play. The Gran Turco, who loves but has lost her, shows her portrait to a Spanish lady captured by his forces:

(Saca el retrato de Lidora el Turco)

Turco. ¿No merece esta mujer,
que mi pecho fiero doma,
tener del mundo poder [...]?
Mírala.
Blanca. Razonable cara,
buen color.
Turco. ¿Desa manera
tratas la prenda más rara?
Blanca. Nunca yo miento, y mintiera
si este retrato encumbrara.(274)

The Gran Turco, no doubt expecting a more enthusiastic reaction to the image, goes on to conclude that on principle women never praise the facial beauty of another member of their sex. The comment 'buen color' is intriguing: it might refer to the sitter's complexion or to the quality of the painting. Lidora is a Moorish princess, whom Blanca has never seen, and so she may be referring to the colour of her face; it is more likely that she is commenting on the painting, and resorts to this remark for something to say (no doubt with the intonation required to convey her indifference). Formulaic responses are tokens of generally-held reactions, and there may be a glimpse here of a standard criterion derived from the

sort of values summarized by Lucy Gent in relation to Tudor and Elizabethan art:

> The concept of painting which, for various reasons, prevailed in England until the 1570s and for many men lingered long after was, I would argue, the medieval one of line and colour [...] The ubiquitous popularity of heraldry, which Elizabethans casually thought of as a species of 'painting', [...] confirmed painting as an art of colour. 'Lively colours' are what many men immediately thought of when the subject of praiseworthy painting came up; and 'lively colours' - not perspective, not shadow - were, in their eyes, what allowed the skilful painter to achieve lifelikeness. (Picture and Poetry, 17)

The link with heraldry in this context is interesting, particularly in the light of Tárrega's own penchant for lengthy word pictures of tournaments and liveries (there is a long one, which includes colour symbolism and mottoes, at the beginning of La enemiga favorable).[5] In Tárrega's theatre this remark on colour, which is not required by the rhyming scheme, is the only instance where any of his stage portraits is evaluated beyond the addition of the adjectives rara and vivo (see below, p. 254).

In terms of plot, this portrait of Lidora still has some surprises in store, as Blanca (who does not yet know that she has lost her beloved Diego to Lidora) begins to experience telepathic loathing towards the image and the lady portrayed in it; the audience are about to find out that this is indeed the 'rara figura' that the Gran Turco has said it is:

> Blanca. ¿Qué es esto? ¿Puede ser tal
> que sin conocer su trato
> le he cobrado odio mortal
> no sólo a este retrato,
> pero al vivo original?
> ¿En qué me ofendes, pintura?
> ¿Qué me haces? ¿Qué me has hecho,
> borrón de aquella hermosura?
> [...]

¿No me quieres responder?
Sácame de aquesta duda,
rabia, demonio, mujer.
¿Qué me haces, parlera muda,
o qué me puedes hacer? (274)

The success of this scene depends on the dramatic irony of our knowing what Blanca has yet to discover: that Lidora is Diego's new love. The macabre, even supernatural, element here is also an important ingredient, which creates mystery and suspense as it draws on popular superstition concerning images. Blanca's telepathic loathing of the portrait is an early and unusual dramatization of the image-that-comes-to-life theme, which recurs many times and in many manifestations in the comedia, most notably in the falling-portrait device (see below, p. 418).

The third portrait in El cerco de Rodas is of Diego, which has inexplicably fallen into the hands of the Gran Turco at just the moment when he lost Lidora to Diego; this kind of symmetry clearly appealed to Tárrega, and many other dramatists. In the course of the play, the Gran Turco recognizes Diego from this miniature, despite the fact that he is disguised as a Moor; here, too, Tárrega looks to create suspense by drawing out the process of comparison (note the checklist of features) and recognition:

Turco.(Ap.) Otra vez este varón
he visto si no me engaño.
[...]
El retrato de don Diego
quiero del seno sacar.
[...]
Válgame Alá soberano
sin duda es éste traidor.
Sus ojos, sus cejas son,
sus mejillas, su cabello.
[...]
Pues es don Diego, sin duda.

Diego. ¿Qué miras, por vida mía,
en mí, y tu mano desnuda?
[...]
Turco. Cuando mi fiel pensamiento
no te conociera, ingrato,
en este vivo retrato
tengo tu conocimiento.
[...]
Es mi suerte tu figura
y en la palma te miraba
cual raya de mi ventura.(288-89)

There is a symmetry here as well, in that the Gran Turco recognizes his rival for Lidora's love (and his sworn enemy) from the portrait while Blanca identifies her rival for Diego's love as she contemplates Lidora's portrait. The word fiel is paired simultaneously with traidor (as an antonym) and with vivo (as a synonym applicable to the portrait), while Tárrega puns on the word figura which here means both the face in the image and an astrological figure (both meanings registered by Covarrubias).

The third act of Las suertes trocadas y venturoso torneo (before 1602: PDV I) relies heavily on a portrait of the Duke's daughter, Sabina, which is lost, found and subsequently worn by a knight on his helmet as a divisa (or device) in a tournament. The portrait begins its travels next to the heart of prince Faustino, who has fallen in love with Sabina only to be refused by her father and who has therefore decided to take the kingdom by force. We see him contemplating the image before the battle:

Faustino. (Saca del seno un retrato de Sabina)
Por empresa llevo en mí
este retrato que adoro,
de quien, por guardar decoro,
mi seno lo lleva en sí,

y a quien mi alma recata
mientras del dueño se acuerda,
no es mucho por él me pierda
si el figurado me mata.(424)

The fact that Faustino carries the portrait as an empresa foreshadows its eventual use as a device in the tournament. The image is clearly a miniature, though apparently not worn on a chain around the neck, since Faustino drops it as he grabs his sword to defend himself against the conde loco, who has lost his wits, temporarily, also for love of Sabina. The count picks up and keeps the portrait, and later enters the tournament (a favourite climax for Tárrega) accompanied by four men representing the four seasons, and wearing the portrait on his helmet: 'trae encima del yelmo el retrato que cayó al Príncipe'; this, it is said, will inspire him: 'Harále más atrevido/ el retrato de quien ama'(439). The portrait here is most likely to have been a naipe - an image on cardboard about the size of a large playing card. In a play by Guillén de Castro, discussed below, an image of this type is carried loose, dropped and then torn up. Such images are documented: for example, the catalogue of an exhibition of Spanish miniatures includes a portrait by Lope's friend Felipe de Liaño of Philip IV as a prince, painted on 'cartulina de baraja'.[6] Strictly speaking, an image showing the human figure or face could not be used as a device.[7] Tárrega, who would probably have known this, is more intent on his dénouement, where the crazed count defeats his beloved Sabina, who is convincingly disguised as a knight errant and who apparently fails to recognize her own portrait on his helmet.

The fourth play by Tárrega which contains an image is La fundación de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced (before 1602: PDV I). This time it is an image of the Virgin Mary, which Armengol leaves at the door of his sister's prison cell to defend her from the sexual assault planned by the king Audalla:

> Armengol. A la puerta me he salido,
> donde ha de ser la batalla,
> [...]
> Del mío [pecho] quiero sacar
> esta imagen de María,
> que es en cualquier lugar
> mi refugio, y mi alegría
> y en éste será mi altar.
> Defended con santas manos,
> sustentad esta intención.(565)

The appeal to the Virgin is duly answered, and the king's entry into the cell is prevented three times by flames, in one of a series of coups de théâtre in the play: 'Va el Rey a entrar, y sale fuego por la puerta de la cárcel'. When he does finally gain access he is burnt by a small shield taken from Armengol's scapular. There is no evaluation of the Virgin's image since the power it contains and the devotion it inspires are the only things that matter. The play includes other, metaphysical retratos: in the first act the Virgin appears to king Jaime in a vision, surrounded by saints each with his particular insignia; the king addresses this theatrical tableau as imagen and bello retrato (541-42). In the second act there is the neo-Platonic image of love, as the Moorish king Audalla protests that 'sólo en ti mirar espero/ mi figura en tu retrato'(550); later the skull of Flora's

mother is produced to remind her of her commitment to Christianity: 'Pensad en aquel retrato,/ que os arroja vivas flechas'(555).

Tárrega's debt to a tradition going back over the centuries is illustrated by the fact that near the close of this play he uses a tableau to dramatize a scene, included in Berceo's thirteenth-century Milagros, of the Virgin physically supporting a devotee who has been hanged.[8] Berceo offers stories of miracles performed by images of the Virgin and crucifixes (CC edition, nos. 14 and 23). Lope, too, drew on the same tradition in La divina vencedora, composed about the same time as Tárrega's play (ie. 1599-1603). Here the Virgin comes to the assistance of thirty-two Christians who are defending a fort against three thousand Moors; predictably, the results are devastating (Acad.N. IV, 653-54). The cult of the Virgin's image intensified in the second half of the sixteenth century in response to the Protestant assault on its legitimacy, and the miraculous nature of these images assumed central importance, as confirmed by Jaime Prades (writing around 1595):

> La fe que tenemos como sepultada en la parte interior, parece que recibe vida por la reverencia exterior que a las imágenes hacemos [...] Una de las más fuertes y evidentes razones que en esta verdad católica nos confirman, es la manifestación sobrenatural y aparición milagrosa de las imágenes, que sin que interviniesen hombres en ello, se han descubierto en toda España, y en otras partes del mundo, por sola voluntad de Dios, y ministerio de los Angeles.[9]

Invoking the aid of such images was not only 'santa, pero en mucha gloria de Dios y de su pasión'(53). Prades offers persuasive examples, such as the following one:

> Apareció Nuestra Señora en lo alto de aquel lugar, por su imagen santa [...] llena de grande luz, y tan espantosa a todos los enemigos que infinitos dellos cayeron en tierra muertos de pura turbación.(78)

Although Erasmus, a firm believer in the 'vanity and needlessness of invoking saints', could tell how a man in a shipwreck 'tore away a wooden Image of the Mother Virgin (an old rat-eaten Piece)' and 'try'd to swim upon't' without (mischievously) telling us whether he was saved as a result, the devotion to holy images recorded in Spanish literature invariably guaranteed a happy outcome.[10] The dramatization of the protective-image theme in these two plays by Tárrega and Lope is a device that persists throughout the seventeenth century, recycled (for example) in Moreto's play El Santo Christo de Cabrilla, published in 1670, and in Zamora's Cada uno es linaje aparte, composed in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

The portrait is a recurrent feature of Guillén de Castro's plays. In El amor constante (c.1596-99: GCO I), one of his earliest works, he explores the combination of amor por el retrato and telepathy when he has Leonido react differently to two portraits. First he contemplates an image of a woman he does not yet know as his mother:

> Leonido. Aquí sentado
> contemplaré esta figura.
> ¡Oh soberano traslado!
> ¿Qué tienes en la hermosura,
> que entretienes al cuidado?
> Con un tierno sentimiento,
> que gloria del alma es,
> te ha cobrado el pensamiento
> un amor sin interés
> y una pasión sin tormento.
> [...]

pues como a cosa divina
te tengo amor y respeto
Pondréte en el corazón.(17)

He falls asleep, whereupon the Infanta who is out hunting comes across him, and wonders what he has in his hand: '¿qué en la mano tiene?'; on discovering that it is a portrait, she decides on a burla, and changes the image for one of herself: '(truécale el retrato)'; she can have some fun 'si me conoce por él'(18). He awakes, and is bewildered to find another image in his hand: '¿No le tuve en mi palma?'. He now falls passionately in love with the lady in the new portrait, and when the Infanta approaches with her entourage, he studies her image and compares it with the original:

Leonido. El rostro que estoy mirando
¿no es el que en la mano tengo?
Casi a persuadirme vengo
que aun ahora estoy soñando;
[...]
Ni sueño ni estoy dormido,
cierta esta gloria está.(18-19)

One of the gentlemen accompanying the Infanta describes Leonido as he compares the lady and the portrait: 'con la vista se pasea/ desde tu rostro a su mano'(19). Leonido eventually kills the tyrant king, thereby avenging the death of both parents, and marries the Infanta.

The two portraits are evidently intended to be small enough to be concealed in the hand (since the attendants cannot see what Leonido is looking at), and consequently are probably not naipes. As in the large majority of comedias, the quality of the portraits is never an issue, and the likeness of each is taken for granted. The theme of filial love via a portrait is not common in the comedia, although the mystique surrounding

profane as well as sacred images is a constant source of inspiration for dramatists.

Castro's play El desengaño dichoso (c.1599: GCO I) features a patena or devotional image to be worn around the neck. Covarrubias explains patena as 'una lámina ancha que antiguamente traían a los pechos con alguna insignia de devoción, que el día de [h]oy tan solamente se usa entre las labradoras[sic]'. In the play, Ariodante, who is seeking to feign his own death, comes across a faceless corpse ('sin figura viene', 349) and he and a friend dress the corpse in his shirt and jewellery (including his picture of his beloved):

> Ariodante. Esta patena le pondrás al cuello,
> que tiene a la una parte un Agnus Dei
> y a la otra un retrato de Ginebra.
> Y no te espantes, que es amor tan loco,
> que junta con lo humano lo divino.(350)

When the body is brought to the court, Ginebra at first faints, but when she recovers she addresses the two images:

> Ginebra. (Al relicario)
> ¡Vos, soberana María
> a quien él se encomendaba
> [...]
> Castigo de que llevaba
> vuestra imagen con la mía
> ha sido; desdicha igual!
> ¡Retrato! ¡Mi suerte avara,
> la suerte como la cara
> os dio del original.(352-53)

Ginebra now maintains that she hates herself so much that 'no es justo verme/ ni en tabla pintada'(353); she seems here to be referring to any image, and probably not to the image in the patena. A tabla, as Covarrubias explains, was a wooden panel, with or without an image painted on it; this would have made a tabla heavy to carry around the neck. The signs are

that this patena was not a locket, but something a little larger (Covarrubias does say lámina ancha) worn around the neck, comprising the lady's portrait and on the other side (?) an agnus dei, a devotional image of Christ (or of Him symbolically represented as the Lamb), though here it quite clearly includes the Virgin Mary as well.[11] There is no evaluation of Ginebra's portrait, which is there to forward the plot and stimulate the 'twin devotion' conceit.

This theme of devotion to a profane image is taken up also in Castro's La humildad soberbia (c.1595-1605: GCO I). In this play, Madama Margarita gives Rodrigo her portrait to replace the relic he says he has lost:

> Margarita. (Dale una cadena y un retrato suyo en ella colgado)
> Ponte esta cadena al cuello,
> y este relicario en ella,
> que una imagen tiene.
> [...]
> Rodrigo. (Aparte)
> ¡Vive Dios, que es su retrato!
> (Alto)
> ¿Cómo se llama esta santa?
> Margarita. Es una mártir francesa,
> [...]
> Rodrigo. ¡Oh mártir gloriosa!
> (Besa el retrato)
> Margarita. Mucha devoción es ésa.(468-69)

The remainder of their lovers' exchange is couched in terms of religious piety, with words like devoto, mártir and santo repeated as Rodrigo kisses the portrait two more times. Once again, the lady's portrait is introduced merely to set up the mildly heretical (but not uncommon) conceit, and then is mentioned no more. However, this is not the only portrait or the only 'relic' in the play. Castro develops as a central theme the idea of a 'retrato sin guarnición', or unadorned

portrait, to convey the problem of nobility without riches; Rodrigo decides to seek his fortune as a soldier, and echoes the conceit (introduced by his father) of a 'retrato sin guarnición,/ que no luce, aunque retrata;/ reliquia sin oro o plata/ que entibia la devoción':

> Rodrigo. Mi retrato, si retrata,
> lucirá con guarnición,
> y obligará a devoción
> cual reliquia entre oro y plata.(455)

When he has fulfilled his ambition, he celebrates with his father in the same vein:

> Rodrigo. Tú bien nacido me hiciste,
> mi estrella rico me ha hecho,
> reliquia soy de tu pecho,
> retrato de lo que fuiste.(487)

The two portrait themes link up, in that Margarita invites 'devotion' to her portrait (as to a relic) while Rodrigo earns the adornment of gold and silver to make himself a portrait (or relic) to inspire the devotion which his noble status deserves.

The action in Castro's version of Progne y Filomena (c.1608-12: GCO I) springs initially from a confusion over portraits. The king of Thrace, Tereo, falls in love with Filomena as a result of seeing her picture, but thinks that she is in fact called Progne because the portrait bore the wrong title. He cannot disguise his anger when he discovers that he is committed to marrying Filomena's sister, Progne, whose image had borne Filomena's name. His brother, Teosindo, whom he sent as envoy to arrange the match, bears the brunt of his fury:

Tereo. Y ésa, traidor,
es la causa de mi pena.
Ese engaño, esa cautela
que en los retratos me has hecho;
a los dos traigo en el pecho,
(Saca dos retratos)
arde el uno, el otro hiela.(125)

We are told no more about these two portraits, which have served their function and do not reappear onstage. Tereo carries or wears them both 'en el pecho': they may be lockets on chains, but are more likely to be miniatures carried loose, probably naipes. Teosindo suggests that it was possibly the painter's fault: 'yerro ha sido del pintor'(125); he certainly made no mistake with the likeness in the portraits. Tereo accuses Teosindo of switching the names on the images so that he could have Filomena to himself. It is never explained who exactly made the mistake of confusing the names. Comparison here is interesting with Carlos Boyl's play El marido asegurado (before 1604: BAE XLIII), where the switching of names and portraits is a very deliberate ploy. In Boyl's play, king Sigismundo awaits the arrival of Menandra, his new queen, who has fallen in love with his portrait; in order to test her fidelity, Sigismundo persuades the reluctant count Manfredo to pretend to be the king, bolstering the pretence with the explanation that the ambassador mixed up the portraits. Menandra is therefore left with a dilemma: did she undertake to marry the portrait ('la figura': 190) or the king? She agrees to marry the 'king' (that is, the count) and thereafter endures the feigned bad temper of the 'king', and the unwelcome, but very tempting advances of the 'count' (that is, the real king), whose portrait she originally fell in love

with; all of this is designed to test her fidelity. As the 'count' tries to tempt Menandra, punning on the notion of perspective ('no agrade mi retrato/ solamente por sus lejos: 193), it emerges that the type of image involved is a tabla, or wooden panel. Despite endless and excessive trials to match those endured by the patient Griselda, Menandra remains faithful to her 'king', and resists the man whose image she loved. Prepared for death rather than dishonour, she then discovers the truth, namely that 'no fue el retrato vano'(210), and turns the final test to her advantage by agreeing (unexpectedly) to marry the man whose portrait had won her heart in the first place. In this play, all the events onstage are clouded in deception, while the only truths are shown to be Menandra's integrity, and the faithful likeness in the portrait. The dramatic (and sometimes comic) potential of the themes of the portrait switch and mystery portrait continued to be popular throughout the seventeenth century: indeed, Francisco de Medina's play, La confusión de un retrato, explores related themes (see below, pp. 343-45).

Returning to Castro's Progne y Filomena, there are other, figurative portraits in the play, as when Tereo traps his brother into admitting his love for Filomena, and feigns cooperation while secretly plotting to thwart him:

> Tereo.(Ap.) Ya sé, traidor,
> porque, siendo [tu sangre] colorada,
> tú la mudaste el color.
> [...]
> Quiero fingir con recato,
> no vea en su original
> los engaños del retrato.(GCO I: 132-33)

Here the words color and retrato convey the idea of deception

(his brother's and then his), tying up with Tereo's conviction that he has been deceived by the two portraits. Elsewhere in the play, Tereo's children by Progne are described as retratos of their father, while Progne's daughter (Arminda), who develops into a cazadora-type, is described as 'en las flechas un retrato de Cupido'(137, 148 and 154).

The play also includes the all-important element, deriving from Ovid's version, of the tapestry which reveals Filomena's true fate to her sister. In the version published by Timoneda (1564) the tapestry is called 'el paño', while in Castro's version it is 'un lienzo' and later 'una toalla'.[12] Castro develops the earlier versions by having Progne start to embroider the 'official' version of her sister's fate, only to be interrupted by the delivery of Filomena's own tapestry:

> Progne. Aquí dibujar quiero
> la infeliz causa de mi llanto esquivo,
> porque con más cuidado
> llore el original viendo el traslado.(146)

The combination of traslado (or retrato) and original, meaning image and sitter, is a recurrent one in this play and in the comedia. Castro's choice of the word dibujar is appropriate here, since Progne, as we see, is at the planning stage; Covarrubias is quite specific, defining dibuxar[sic] as 'la delineación de la figura, sin colores [...] la cosa representada como en sombra, y ensayo de lo que ha de ser':

> Progne. Aquí pondré la peña y aquí en ella
> tropezando el caballo,
> y aquí a mi hermana, aunque sangrienta, bella,
> cayendo, y si hallo modo
> a mi desdicha pintaré entre todo;
> pero, ¿qué cifra aguardo
> en que puedan caber mis desventuras? (146)

The word modo could be a general term or a specifically artistic term (eg. Carducho, Diálogos, 1633, fols 88^{r} and 162^{r}), while the popular word cifra conveyed the idea of a condensed (and sometimes mysterious) representation of something powerful and wide-ranging, in this case Progne's considerable misfortunes.

The second 'real-story' tapestry is brought in by a villano, and we are told two things about it: firstly, it is 'un lienzo labrado extrañamente', and secondly, that it is 'una toalla, y labrado en ella la desgracia de Filomena'(146). Progne starts to decipher the tapestry:

> Progne. ¿No es un hombre atrevido
> que a una mujer con una daga tira,
> [...]
> ¿No dice aquí Tereo
> y Filomena aquí? (147)

There is no indication as to whether Progne in this scene is meant to show the tapestry to the audience and involve them in the interpretation of the image. Some more writing ('de esquina a esquina') on the tapestry confirms Progne's conclusions, so she kills her own son by Tereo to avenge her sister's dishonour at his hands, and then tricks him into spine-chilling cannibalism of his own progeny.

In another of Castro's plays, Donde no está su dueño, está su duelo (c.1610-20: Acad.N. V), the count loves a recently-married woman, Aurelia. When her husband is called away to the wars, the count hesitates endlessly to declare his love. In one scene, a maid 'paints' a tantalizing picture of Aurelia sleeping and waking which leaves the count's mouth watering: '¡quién la viera/ como aquí me la has pintado!'(15); Banquete,

the gracioso, immediately passes what sounds like a mocking comment ('Pienso que lo mismo fuera'), not praising the word-painting for its accuracy, but rather urging the count to sample the real thing. The count eventually steels himself sufficiently for an indirect declaration of his love for a woman whose husband is away. Warned by Aurelia not to play with fire, he makes to tear up a letter he had composed to send to this lady, whereupon a small portrait of Aurelia which he has no right to possess falls to the ground: '[el conde] saca un papel del pecho, y al romperle cae un retrato de Aurelia en el suelo'(19). Now that his hand has been forced the count declares himself, imputing motives to the portrait:

> Sabina. ¿Qué es esto que se ha caído?
> Conde. Su retrato, que ha querido
> disculpar mi atrevimiento.
> Sabina. (Aparte) (Sin duda es suyo; eso, sí,
> ya se atreve y se aventura.)
> ¡Válgame Dios, qué hermosura!
> Conde. Su extremo vuelve por mí.
> Aurelia. (Aparte) Este es mío, y que es extraño
> me importa fingir ahora.
> [...]
> Conde. ¿No conoces a esa estrella,
> aunque desmiente al pincel,
> con menos belleza en él
> la que yo contemplo en ella? (19)

Aurelia vehemently denies any recognition of the lady in the portrait, but cannot help blushing; she then returns the portrait to the count, but symbolically broken, to warn him off:

> Aurelia. Toma el retrato, advertido
> de que el tiempo ni la muerte [sic]
> verán sino de esta suerte
> el original rendido. (Rómpele)
> Y agradéceme que en pago
> de tu atrevimiento, aquí
> no he mandado hacer en ti
> lo que en el retrato hago.(20)

The portrait in this scene is almost certainly the naipe type, made of vellum or cardboard, carried loose and frequently wrapped in taffeta. The maid not only recognizes the sitter, as Aurelia does, but is impressed by the beauty of her mistress in the image: the likeness of portraits is a convention dictated by plot, while the second comment hints at the power of art to capture the essence of beauty and enhance it. The count's comments are gallant conceits which nonetheless allude to the potential for images to come alive and act autonomously. Towards the end of the play, when Aurelia's (groundlessly) suspicious husband cannot bring himself to murder his sleeping wife, she is described in terms of a statue: 'marfil bruñido'(33); this 'picture' of Aurelia as she sleeps balances the earlier word-painting which so impressed the count.

Another play by Castro, Dido y Eneas (1613-16: GCO I), calls for two portraits: one is a miniature of Dido, while the other is a larger portrait of her dead husband Siqueo, showing also the torso, at least down to the waist, and one or both of the subject's hands. In the first act, King Hiarbas contemplates the portrait of Dido (apparently a panel rather than a locket) as he listens to an account of her exemplary deeds:

(Salen Hiarbas con un retrato en la mano y [el consejero])

Hiarbas. Callad, suspended un poco
alabanzas y renombres
desta divina mujer,
[...]
mientras miro en esta tabla
un borrón de sus colores,
un rasgo de su hermosura,
[..]

¡Qué honestidad! ¡Qué belleza!
Tal es, que aun pintada pone
amor y miedo en el alma,
[..]
Prosigue agora, y podré
dar en distancias conformes
a su traslado la vista
y el oído a tus razones.(171)

The words borrón and rasgo, meaning a rough draft or sketch, were popular synonyms of retrato and traslado in conceits which implied the superiority of the original over the image. Besides beauty, the image is said to convey an intimidating honestidad: the painter here has, by implication, captured the essence of Dido's character.

The second portrait is also a tabla, and Castro may have envisaged a life-size image to create the maximum dramatic effect. Torn between love of Eneas and respect (and fear) of her dead husband, Dido decides to contemplate his picture in the hope that it will guide her:

Dido. A su imagen quiero ver,
que es oráculo mío.
Hablaráme con los ojos,
cuya divina hermosura
reportará mi locura
y amansará mis enojos.
Corre, corre esa cortina,
pues de vella me prometo
en mí tan divino efeto
como la causa es divina.

(Corre una cortina y parece un retrato de Siqueo) (185)

The response that she invites from the image turns out to be more than she, and the audience, expected. Dido feels that the portrait is starting to threaten her;

Dido. Pero ¿qué tengo? ¿Qué vi?
¿Qué te miro temerosa?
¿No soy yo tu amada esposa?
¿Ya no me miras piadoso?
¿Qué hice que estás quejoso?
¿En que erré, que airado estás?

[...]
Esposo, esposo,
tente, tente; hermana mía,
detenle.

Ana. ¡Qué desventura!

Dido. Parece que la figura
de la tabla se desvía.

Ana. Imaginación sería.

Dido. No fue pensamiento vano;
¿no parece que, inhumano
a mis lástimas y enojos,
enfureciendo los ojos
me amenaza con la mano? (185)

She asks her husband for guidance in her predicament; from wherever he now is ('desde tu esfera') he must try to communicate with her: 'haz un milagro en mi pecho,/ pues te adoro como santo'. The tension mounts as she urges him to respond:

Dido. Respóndeme, esposo, habla,
pues en pena tan mortal,
que ablandar[ía] un pedernal,
responder puede una tabla;
[...]
con algún prodigio extraño,
responderme. Muerta soy.(185)

At this moment the portrait apparently swivels (or a more complicated piece of stage machinery is involved) to reveal an image of a bloodstained sword: 'Desaparece el retrato de Siqueo y aparece en su lugar otro de una espada desnuda y sangrienta'. Dido feels that the painted sword has come alive too, and is pointing at her ('a mi corazón se apunta': 186); this foreshadows her suicide using Aeneas' sword at the close of the play, when she realizes that 'ésta es la [espada] que vi pintada'(203).

This episode appears to have been Castro's own invention, since it does not occur in Virgil's account (Aeneid, Bk. 4), or in Virués' Elisa Dido. In the classical version Dido does

pray to the statues of the gods for their indulgence, and her dead husband does seem to convey his disapproval, but the only portrait mentioned is one of Aeneas which Dido places on the funeral pyre before her suicide. Castro's play demands quite a lot of stage machinery, including a tramoya, a bofetón and a tree trunk that opens, as well as several tableau-like discoveries of Dido. The prodigio of Siqueo's portrait coming to life and changing suddenly into a painted sword (which also seems to move) must therefore be seen as part of sequence of astonishing events. The creepy notion of an image which is airado and quejoso, and which threatens ('me amenaza con la mano') some kind of retribution is one that was used in the comedia before 1605 and regularly thereafter. The language in Castro's scene reinforces the action: just before the 'dead' image of a dead man apparently comes to life (it is really bound to do so because Dido adores it as though it were a saint) she complains of mortal anguish ('pena mortal') and says that she is dead: 'muerta soy'. At this dramatic moment, what is living is dead and, momentarily and paradoxically, what is dead comes alive. At the close of the play there is a 'discovery' where we see the enthroned and mortally-wounded Dido die and pass into the silent world of the pictorial tableau.[13]

There can be little doubt that dramatists of the period thought of the 'tableau vivant' and the 'discovery' as forms of painting. In one play, which may be by Guillén de Castro, a tableau of this kind (discussed below, pp. 275-78) is referred to as a pintura. George Kernodle has suggested that

tableaux vivants 'were born of the desire to make visual art more active - to make it breathe and speak with living actors.'[14] Since the tableau vivant lies halfway between painting and drama, the converse proposition also applies, namely the desire to take theatre beyond the limits of the temporal and make the sequence of events suddenly come to a halt in a symbolic pose. Kernodle points out that in the original tableaux vivants, composed (in street theatres) of living actors posing in silence to convey a symbolic message to a passing monarch, 'we find the same emblematic scenic devices that were traditional in all the narrative arts'(52). In numerous <u>comedias</u> the dramatist (or producer) often abbreviated his instructions for the staging of a tableau or discovery with a reference to the standard paintings of the scene. The Valencian Ricardo del Turia, for example, feels no need to specify every detail of a discovery of Christ: 'Descúbrase arriba Cristo Nuestro Señor, como le <u>pintan</u> en el Juicio, con un mundo a los pies'.[15] The components and the details of such an image would have been common knowledge, along with the attributes of the saints and a code of colour symbolism which was so well-known that Covarrubias thought it not worth the trouble explaining.[16] An audience of the period would have been alive to the significance of visual clues such as how high people were seated and whether they wore hats or sat in the presence of a monarch.[17] In relation to Elizabethan society, Lucy Gent speaks of an 'emblematic expectation of visual images' which was 'entrenched' in that culture; Leslie Hotson, the master decoder of English miniatures, describes

the 'quick' Elizabethan mind as 'not only richly stored, but also symbol-haunted'.[18] Evidently, the same was true in Spain. Among the Valencians, Tárrega clearly had a liking for climactic discoveries which were heavily charged with symbolism, and for lengthy descriptions of liveries and devices worn by participants in tournaments.[19] His earliest play, El Prado de Valencia (1590-91), contains an especially long account of a 'juego de cañas' where some ninety gallants are listed, together with details of the colours they wore - and all this in the second act of the play (PDV I, 206-08). Some of the colour symbolism is explained: for example, 'encarnado y blanco' is interpreted as 'amante y franco'(207a), but most is not (to the modern reader, that is). Tárrega does the same thing, though not to the same degree, in other plays; it was quite clearly a favourite topic of his. One might expect cultured audiences in literary academies to enjoy this sort of exercise; apparently theatre audiences did as well. Lope de Vega usually gave them what they wanted, and in the third act of La vengadora de las mujeres (1615-20) he includes a long relación that lists the colours of liveries, mottoes and types of horse, and (about halfway through) the line 'entre otros muchos, para no cansarte'(Acad.N. XIII, 639a). The popularity of emblem books was yet another manifestation of what Gareth Davies has called an 'appetite for hidden meaning in the enigmatic and obscure'.[20] There was no doubt a cultural spectrum which ranged from the 'intellectual habit'(Davies, 71), shared by the educated, right down to the emblematic survival kit (so to

speak) of the lowest classes, whereby paintings and their symbolism constituted the books of the illiterate. The emblem could be esoteric like the device, or it could be blindingly obvious; Jean Seznec has drawn attention to these two 'contradictory ends' of emblem literature.[21] In the case of the comedia, symbolism had to be accessible and there is a wealth of elementary examples. Another Valencian dramatist, Gaspar Aguilar, alludes to the emblematic image of fame (fama) in the loa to one play, and has the allegorical character Fama deliver the loa to a second play; in another play by the same dramatist (as in most creative writing of the period), the symbolism of the palm leaf (triumph) and the cypress tree (death) are taken for granted; the formula 'no te pintan en vano,/ ingrato, vendado y ciego' (Ricardo de Turia referring to Cupid) is typical of the way this appetite for visual symbolism was satisfied by the language of the comedia; statements like 'es de crueldad un retrato' and '[eres] retrato de la humana condición' carried an emblematic dimension which is now largely inaccessible to us, although we still preserve the verbal formulae (for example, 'the picture of health, or of misery') and have developed our own subliminal visual symbols.[22] Books like Cesare Ripa's Iconología (first published in 1593), with their descriptions of allegorical figures such as Time, Cunning, Truth, Cruelty and Envy, were enormously popular and influential in their day. In the theatre, the symbolically-charged tableau was a doubly-powerful effect which drew from a cultural reservoir and fed the outward eye as well as the inner eye of the mind.

The complex tableau in the middle of El renegado arrepentido (before 1618: GCQ I) is one of nine discoveries in the play. Briefly, the plot is as follows: Osmán is a Christian prince who escaped false accusation and arrest in his country and became a renegade in the service of the king of Antioch. He was and still is especially devoted to the crucifix he wears around his neck, but considers that his devotion was badly repaid when he was not rescued from the denial of his faith. He maintains that the crucifix ('aquel divino retrato') has tempered his wrath on many occasions. Christ then makes one of four appearances, this time to explain that Osmán alone is to blame for denying his faith: 'No hice yo tu pecado, sino tu albedrío'(231). Osmán reads out a list of the devotions he has shown towards Christ, for which he considers himself badly paid in return; Christ disagrees, and offers to show why: 'oye agora mi descargo/ escrito en esta pintura'(233), whereupon an allegorical tableau is revealed:

> Aquí, con la música, tirando una cortina, se ve esta apariencia: cuatro cruces, por orden, en buen espacio, en esta forma: en la primera, arrodillada, una figura parecida a Osmán, y el Cristo de la Cruz le tiene abrazado, desclavados ambos brazos. En la segunda cruz otra figura de Osmán y el Cristo della, desclavado un brazo, le está poniendo la corona de espinas, que le faltará de la cabeza al Cristo, y la figura de Osmán, con una bolsa en la mano ofreciéndosela. En la tercera, el Cristo con tunicela, sentado en un asiento, y a la cruz las manos atadas con un cendal, cuyos cabos tendrá la figura de Osmán en la mano, y en la otra un crucifijo pequeño, semejante al que rescató del moro. En la cuarta cruz será un crucifijo, que de la herida del costado, le saldrá un hilo carmesí, algo grueso, que parece de sangre, y venga a la boca de la figura de Osmán. Y advierto que todas estas cuatro figuras de Osmán sean conformes en los vestidos y en los talles, si fuere posible.(233-34)

Christ then explains that each image demonstrates that Osmán has received the correct payment for his virtuous deeds, four of which are then recalled which correspond to the four symbolic images. Firstly, Osmán spared a man from death because he invoked Christ's name ('Cristo. Te la pagué en abrazos'); secondly, Osmán donated money for an altar and Christ rewards him with a crown; thirdly, Osmán rescued a crucifix by buying it from a Moor ('Cristo. Quedé por tu preso'); fourthly, a widow's son was ransomed with Osmán's aid ('Cristo. Causó que mi sangre te diese': 234). After the pintura has been explained, Osmán concedes that 'estoy bien pagado', and it is covered: 'Tocan la música y cúbrese la apariencia de los cuatro Cristos'(234).

The first and the fourth of the symbolic 'groups' have counterparts in seventeenth-century painting which are not hard to find: for example, Francisco Ribalta's Christ embracing St. Bernard (c.1620-28), and for the fourth pose, Gianlorenzo Bernini's Allegory of Christ's Blood (c.1670); paintings and drawings representing the other two poses could probably be found.[23] As for similar tableaux in contemporary drama, the fourth group of this tableau has a lot in common with the climactic discovery in Valdivielso's El hospital de los locos (1602): 'Aparece Cristo, Nuestro Señor, y del pecho le salen siete cintas encarnadas'.[24] Several conclusions follow from the fact that the four-part tableau of El renegado arrepentido is very carefully explained. The images were not necessarily self-explanatory to everyone, though they may have been to a few or even the majority of the audience. The

visual image (on display for some time) is used, as in Valdivielso's play, to simplify and convey what might otherwise be difficult theological doctrine: the image and the moral reinforce each other, just as in the emblem books and in Calderón's allegorical drama. Whether the figures in the tableau were models or actors is not made clear. George Kernodle, writing in general terms and not about the comedia, has suggested that in some tableaux they could be mixed:

> Lay figures, life-sized, painted and dressed in regular costumes, served for some of the tableaux, while others had living actors. In many of the accounts it is difficult to decide which are the living actors and which coloured figures: the two might even be mixed in the same show [...] There was an added attraction in seeing living actors, even if they did not move or speak. Such observers as Calvete de Estrella were impressed both by the life-like quality of the lay figures and by the ability of the actors to hold positions without moving an eyelash.(From Art to Theatre, 1964, 63)

The four figuras of Osmán are to be 'conformes en los vestidos y en los talles'; does this mean the same size or build as each other, or as Osmán? In order to be seen from a distance, and to help identify them with the Osmán who contemplates the tableau, they would be better life-size. The labour involved in making, setting up and dismantling a series of life-size models would be considerable when compared with the simpler expedient of using four actors of Osmán's build to hold the required poses. Four figuras of Christ are also called for: perhaps these too were played by living actors. Certainly, at the end of the play, a life-size figure of the crucified Christ speaks.[25] Soon (about ninety lines) after the central tableau, another unrelated discovery takes place, and it is likely, though not altogether clear, that the same discovery

space was to be used. If this is so, then for the sake of convenience it would be much easier to dismantle the earlier, complex tableau if its component parts were living rather than inanimate.

The symbolic tableau was a device which many dramatists, not only the Valencians, made much use of. Several more examples, where actors (and not models) are certainly required, will illustrate the type of effect which was sought. In La enemiga favorable by Tárrega (discussed above, p. 250) the queen has been slandered and a verdict is to be reached in a trial by combat; here the queen's life as well as her good name hangs in the balance:

> Corre una cortina, donde sobre un sitial negro levantado del suelo, se mostrará la Reina, vestido de luto, sentada en una silla, y a un lado estará un niño arrodillado, degollado por la garganta, con una corona de oro en una fuente, y a otro lado el verdugo, arrodillado, con una espada desnuda, vestido de luto y sin donaire sea.(PDV I, 618a)

The queen's page had been beheaded after allegedly informing the king of his wife's illicit affair, and the head is produced for all to see in the second act. The tableau summarizes in picture form the events that have led up to the current crisis and the degree of danger for the queen, before the action resumes and her name is cleared. The same technique in the same situation is used by Cervantes in his complicated play El laberinto de amor (printed in 1615). Rosamira has been slandered, and the accusation is to be defended in combat. For various reasons (and unbeknown to all present) Porcia is standing in for Rosamira, but it is Rosamira who is nonetheless on trial:

> Sale Porcia cubierta con el manto [half black, half green] que le dio el carcelero, acompañada de la misma manera que dijo, con la mitad del acompañamiento enlutado y la otra mitad de fiesta; el verdugo al lado derecho, desenvainando el cuchillo, y al siniestro, el niño con la corona de laurel, los atambores delante sonando triste y ronco, la mitad de la caja de verde y la otra mitad de negro, que será un extraño espectáculo; siéntase Porcia, cubierta, en un asiento alto que ha de estar a un lado de la escena, desviado del de su padre.[26]

Unlike Tárrega's scene, this tableau begins with a procession and then moves into a static pose when the accused lady takes her seat. Here colour symbolism of an elementary type (black for infamy and green for hope) adds yet another dimension to the pictorial, almost heraldic nature of the tableau.

To sum up: the Valencian group of dramatists played a key role in establishing the many painting themes which later dramatists drew on and incorporated into subsequent comedias. (We have just seen an instance where Cervantes was quite probably influenced by a tableau created by Tárrega.) As far as actual portraits are concerned, various types are needed in the plays: the miniature locket hung around the neck, the naipe which was carried loose (and occasionally dropped and torn up), the patena or devotional image, and the tabla or wooden panel. Reflecting their use in the everyday life of the time, we see them used in arranged marriages, as love tokens and as objects of piety. As a theatrical convention, the portrait always resembles the sitter, and dramatists weave complex plots around this assumption. The mystique and widespread superstition that surrounded images (with the proviso that they might be devilish figuras) was fertile ground for the dramatists to exploit. Verbal patterns relating to the notion of painting were also established in

Valencian drama and pastoral fiction: the rivalry between art and nature, the paradox of the retrato vivo, the child as retrato of the parent, the symbolic image - the tableau as pintura, or in combinations like 'cifra del bien querer', 'trasunto de la verdad', 'ídolo de firmeza' and 'de Cristo y Andrés perfectísimo dibujo'.[27] Writers punned on the double meaning of empresa, speculated (occasionally) on the feasibility of love 'por el retrato' and 'por el oído', alluded to the Holy Shroud and incorporated the portrait theme into a whole range of contexts, including the apoplectic rantings of jealous lovers.[28] The painting theme, in the hands of Valencian playwrights, became embedded in the theory, language and mechanics of the comedia. Lope de Vega's role in this process of consolidation is incalculable, but I shall attempt to identify his personal contribution in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 - Notes

(1) See, for example, Wilson/Moir, 77; see also John G. Weiger, The Valencian Dramatists of Spain's Golden Age (Boston, 1976).

(2) Tárrega was in Madrid between May and December 1597 and died in February 1602; see, for example, Joaquín Serrano Cañete, El canónigo Francisco-Agustín Tárrega: estudio biográfico/bibliográfico (Valencia, 1889), 11-13.

(3) The collections were: Doce comedias famosas de cuatro poetas naturales de Valencia (Valencia, 1609 and Madrid, 1614), and Norte de la poesía española, ilustrado del sol de doce comedias (Valencia, 1616).

(4) I have followed the dating of plays by Tárrega, Aguilar, Boyl and Guillén de Castro as suggested by Courtney Bruerton in 'The «comedias» of Guillén de Castro'(HR XII, 1944, 89-151) and 'La versificación dramática española en el período 1587-1610'(NRFH X, 1956, 337-364). For plays by Tárrega and Aguilar, I refer to the texts in Poetas dramáticos valencianos 2 vols, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1929), abbreviated throughout this thesis as PDV. For the plays of Guillén de Castro, I refer to the texts in Obras 3 vols, also edited by Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1925-27), abbreviated as GCO. Any other texts used are specified.

(5) See PDV I, 577-78. The king's extramarital relationship with Laura is revealed by the fact that they are wearing the same colours (580-82).

(6) See Joaquín Ezquerra del Bayo, Exposición de la miniatura-retrato en España: Catálogo general (Madrid, 1916), 16, cat. no. 31. Written accounts of commissions executed by Pantoja de la Cruz between 1602 and 1605 refer to several examples of 'un retratico chico, en naipe': see Mariano Tomás, La miniatura retrato en España (Madrid, 1953), 35-36; he provides illustrations of sixteen miniatures from the seventeenth century, painted on copper, canvas, and board, and includes one naipe by Lope's friend, Felipe de Liaño (see Plates I - V).

(7) See, for example, Julián Gállego, Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1972), 23. Paolo Giovio's conditions for the making

of empresas, including the fourth ('non ricerca alcuna forma humana'), are quoted by Warren T. McCready in 'Empresas in Lope de Vega's works', HR XXVII (1957), 86.

(8) 'El ladrón devoto', in Milagros de Nuestra Señora ed. A. Solalinde (Madrid: CC, 1968), 38-42.

(9) Historia de la adoración y uso de las santas imágenes, y de la imagen de la fuente de la salud (Valencia, 1597), 7-8.

(10) 'The Shipwrack [ie. Shipwreck]' in Twenty Select Colloquies trans. Sir Roger L'Estrange [1680] (London, 1924), 12 and 18.

(11) Covarrubias: 'Agnus Dei: reliquia santa [...] en la cual entra la [cera] de los cirios pascuales del año de antes, y con gran curiosidad, limpieza y reverencia y en diferentes moldes sacan los agnus de diferentes tamaños y de diversas figuras, en la una parte, y en la otra todos tienen el cordero, que da nombre a esta reliquia'.

(12) Tragicomedia llamada Filomena [...], sacada a luz por Ioan Diamonte [ie. Timoneda], Valencia 1564, in Turiana: colección de comedias y farsas, facs. edn (Madrid, 1936), the eighteenth of unnumbered pages.

(13) 'Dentro de una tienda da voces Ana, y descubren la tienda donde está la Reina Dido sobre un trono, atravesada la espada de Eneas por el pecho y Ana con ella': Dido dies crying out Eneas' name (204a).

(14) From Art to Theatre: form and convention in the Renaissance (Chicago and London, 1964), 52.

(15) In El triunfante martirio y gloriosa muerte de San Vicente, in PDV II, 500a.

(16) 'Tienen las [sic] colores, en el vulgo, sus sinificaciones [sic] particulares, que todos las saben, y no hay para qué gastar tiempo en esto': see under color. Evidently, the tone of a specific colour conveyed a particular meaning: 'Divisa es el color que sin letra alguna nos muestra lo que siente, como el color leonado, descubre señorío, leonado escuro[sic] congoja, verde claro esperanza cobrada, verde oscuro esperanza perdida'(Andrés Rey de Artieda, 'Moralidad de la justa' in Discursos, epístolas y epigramas de Artemidoro, Saragossa, 1605, fols 41^{v}-42^{r}). Compare Julián Gállego's comments on the lost languages of colour symbolism and flower symbolism, in Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1972), 228-29 and 234-37.

(17) For example, in El prodigioso príncipe transilvano (probably by Vélez de Guevara, 1597-1602?) Mahometo, the 'Gran Turco', leads in his entourage, symbols of power are then brought in, and everyone sits 'por su orden'(Acad.N. I, 372).

(18) See Lucy Gent, Picture and Poetry, 1981, 29, and Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare by Hilliard: A Portrait Deciphered (London, 1977), 26.

(19) See, for example, the list of empresas in Tárrega's 'Romance pintando el torneo que mantuvo el académico Relámpago [ie. Gaspar Mercader], contando los motes y galas qu'en él hubo', read to the Academia de los Nocturnos in 1592, in Gaspar Mercader, El Prado de Valencia, ed. Henri Mérimée (Toulouse, 1907), 'Appendix', 228-30.

(20) A Poet at Court: Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (Oxford, 1971), 71.

(21) 'The truth is that the science of emblems had two contradictory ends in view. On the one hand, it did indeed aim at establishing an esoteric means of expression; on the other, however, it wished to be didactic, offering lessons which, through their visual presentation, would be within reach of everyone'(The Survival of the Pagan Gods trans. Barbara F. Sessions, Princeton, 1972, 102-03).

(22) For the Valencian examples, see (in the following order) PDV II, 1a, 288b, 117a, 594b (cf. 587a and PDV I, 342b), 605b, and PDV I, 580a. For modern equivalents, see (for example) Roland Barthes, Mythologies trans. Annette Lavers (London, 1973), passim.

(23) For Francisco Ribalta's painting, see George Kubler and Martin Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), plate 120b. For Bernini's drawing see Drawings from the Teyler Museum, Haarlem: Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue by I.Q. van Regteren Altena and P.W. Ward-Jackson (London, 1970), plate 99 and text 66-67.

(24) El hospital de los locos ed. Jean-Louis Flecniakoska (Salamanca: Anaya, 1971), 79.

(25) 'Aquí se descubren arriba las velas y los mástiles de un navío, con su farol en lo alto, y en lugar del árbol mayor, el Crucifijo, y verse han en él, aunque no sea más que los rostros, el Rey de España y los suyos [etc.]'; Christ bids farewell to Antioch: '¡Adiós, provincia dichosa,/ a mi fe restituida!'; then the other passengers say farewell, before the curtain closes: 'cúbrese la galera'(GCO I, 245).

Another play, El renegado del cielo by Cristóbal de Morales, contains a similar scene in which Christ offers to another Osmán the evidence of his sacrifice, not as a tableau but in the form of three lienzos, which he hands one at a time to Osmán: for example 'Cristo. Míralo en esta pintura'(suelta edition, fols 10ᵛ-11ᵛ, especially 11ʳ).

(26) El laberinto de amor, in Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados. Facsímile de la primera edición (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1984), fol. 165ʳ.

(27) Quotations from Carlos Boyl, El marido asegurado (BAE LVIII, 211a), Gaspar Aguilar, Los amigos enojados (before 1603: Acad.N. III, 301a), Gaspar Mercader, El Prado de Valencia (1907 edition, 55) and Ricardo de Turia, 'Loa a San Vicente mártir' preceding El triunfante martirio y gloriosa muerte de San Vicente (PDV II, 473a: cf. 'Si a Andrés retrata en el aspa,/ a Cristo retratar supo/ en reventar de su pecho/ si no un arroyo, mil flujos', 473a). Compare also Aguilar's Vida y muerte del santo fray Luis Bertrán (1608), where Luis is 'luz de predicadores' and 'de Pablo el retrato vivo'(PDV II, 290a and 298a).

(28) Examples of the four themes:

1: In El renegado arrepentido Recisundo promises his army, as they go to war, that 'pintaréis vuestras empresas/ moradas, en campo verde'(GCO I, 236a).

2: In Gaspar Aguilar's La gitana melancólica (1590-1600?) Mario wonders how he can be falling in love with Aber from a verbal description of her: 'pues por creer al pincel/ que pintó una perfeción,/ pierdo el respeto al bastón [...]/ Que si esta grande hermosura/ la formo en mi entendimiento,/ adoro mi propia hechura'(PDV I, 23b).

3: In Gaspar Aguilar's La venganza honrosa (before 1600?) Norandino attempts to suffocate Porcia, his wife, with the words 'este lienzo me ha quedado,/ porque en él deje tu muerte/ la estampa de tu pecado'(PDV II, 353a); compare this with the Veronica episode from a religious play in Valencian, La passio de Christo Nostre Senyor: '(Axuga li la cara ab la tovalla y aparega la figura de Christo) Veronicha. ¡Ay major miracle!/ que la cara propia/ resta aquí estampada./ ¡Ho divina copia!'(PDV II, 674b).

4: In El hijo obediente (before 1600) Miguel Beneyto uses the retrato metaphor as the basis of a (temporarily) mad character's ravings: 'León. La sangre quiero verter/ deste falso, deste ingrato,/ por beberla, y por beber/ de su Rosaura un retrato,/

que hecho carbón he de ver;/ que este retrato maldito/ le tomo por mi provecho,/ para probar si vomito/ otro que tengo en el pecho,/ de quien ya me siento ahíto'(PDV II, 402b).

Chapter 6: Lope de Vega's dramatic treatment of painting themes.

The sheer scale and range of Lope's dramatic, not to mention literary, production is intimidating. The problem for the scholar is how to examine a part without losing sight of the whole, and yet avoid meaningless generalizations. My topic is a specific one, and so I shall concentrate on individual plays, without ignoring the question of chronology (an aspect which the stunning achievement of Morley and Bruerton has facilitated). I shall divide Lope's theatre, quite artificially, into two phases: pre-1616, and post-1616. This is not an arbitrary division for the purposes of my research; it will enable me to examine Lope's contribution to the pictorial theme in drama over the twenty-five or so years in which the Valencian dramatists, studied in the last chapter, were writing their plays. In this way it will be easier to assess how far he followed convention and how far he explored new ground. The forty plays by Lope from this period that I have studied constitute only a fraction of his output, and consequently my conclusions bear this fact in mind. I concentrate also on the plays where there is a variety of painting themes, with occasional cross-references to examples from other plays where there is less 'pictorial' content. For my part, I lament the loss of <u>La gran pintora</u>, which features in the second <u>Peregrino</u> list (1618) of Lope's plays; this may have been a play about Nature, sometimes called by that title, or about painting.[1] The wealth of material that has survived is a constant source of consolation(!).

Two important conventions for the Valencian dramatists were the resemblance of portrait to sitter, and the related device (on the basis that cognition preceded love) of amor por el retrato; the first of these conventions was undisputed, while the second was only rarely questioned. While incorporating these features into his plays, Lope by contrast reconsiders the reliability of the portrait and the feasibility of love via a mere image. Variations on the following exchange, from the opening of La infanta desesperada (1588-95: Acad.N. I), recur regularly in his plays; Doristán has fallen in love with Lavinia, but has seen only portraits of her:

> Nicedio. Muere el Príncipe por ella.
> Lucinio. Pues ¿hala visto?
> Nicedio. En retrato.
>
> [Nicedio then confronts Doristán]
>
> Pero un retrato no más
> ¿te tiene ya desa suerte? (225)

The comment 'un retrato no más' hints at a whole range of dramatic possibilities which Lope did not hesitate to explore. Whether prompted by a sense of mischievous fun or by the observation that portraits were not always accurate (or by a combination of both factors), Lope dramatizes the failure to identify the sitter from the image. In Los locos de Valencia (1590-95) Pisano, the superintendant of the lunatic asylum, has Floriano in his care, and yet when his cousin shows him Floriano's portrait, which has been copied and issued to other law officers who are searching for Floriano, Pisano does not recognize the sitter:

Liberto. Todos llevamos retratado el rostro;
Que han hecho copias dél en Zaragoza
Para que no se pierda por industria.
Pisano. Holgárame de verle por extremo.
Liberto. Presto podréis cumplir ese deseo.
Este es el matador
(Muestra un retrato).[2]

At this point the audience hold their breath: will Pisano recognize Floriano (calling himself Beltrán) from the image?:

Pisano. ¡Gentil presencia!
¿Cómo dicen las letras?
Liberto. Floriano,
«Aetatis sua», veinte y nueve o treinta.
Pisano. Mirado el rostro, me ha movido a lástima.
(142-43)

The comedy of the situation is further enhanced as Floriano stands apart at the same time, contemplating the heavens, and the two cousins who are looking at the portrait decide to move away from him for greater privacy. Floriano later returns with his face blacked, and as he contemplates his portrait, he toys with his would-be captor:

Floriano. Pardiez, que está parecido,
Aunque no os parece a vos.
Pues yo conozco a su dueño
Y sé muy bien dónde está.(159)

perhaps, then, the likeness of the image can be guaranteed for the lover, if not for comic ruffians. While it is true that Lope does not present characters who fall in love with beautiful images of ugly people, nevertheless he does not fail to mock the sublime connotations of amor por el retrato.

In El soldado amante (1590-1600: Acad.N. IX), Prince Clarinete falls in love with Rodiana after contemplating her portrait; he comes across a soldier, Selenio, complaining that the lienzo is the only booty that he has found, and abusing the painted lady in a comic manner. The image is nothing but

'un lienzo mal pintado'(560); furthermore, some of his abuse indicates that the lady has been portrayed in a state of undress: she is a 'mujer común', 'no decente' and 'bujarrona' (which Covarrubias defines as a woman of easy virtue).[3] Selenio is considering whether to disfigure this unwelcome image when prince Clarinarte steps in to rescue it. The text emphasizes that he has the refined taste to appreciate this 'mythological' painting for what it is worth:

> Clarinarte. ¿Y el lienzo, no es bastante,
> para decir que tienes un tesoro?
> Selenio. Un Príncipe a quien eres semejante,
> a tus prendas igual y a tu decoro
> estimara este lienzo por ser hembra;
> mas no quien coge lino y sangre siembra.
> [...]
> Clarinarte. Más habla que imaginas, aunque calla.(560)

The prince promptly falls in love with the unknown lady, and buys the portrait from a bewildered Selenio for a generous price: 'Selenio. ¿Dos mil ducados vale una borracha?/ O aquéste es gran pintor, o mayor necio'(560). Having endured a good deal of comic abuse, the portrait is now adored by Clarinarte as a 'pintura divina', and the abusive address to the image made by the less than appreciative Selenio is now replaced by a very stylized sonnet, which verges on self-parody. Mambrino observes his master's infatuation, and expresses his concern:

> Mambrino. ¿Agora que ya tu espada
> el mundo pudo emprender,
> se ha rendido a una mujer
> de lasciva retratada? (561)

Here again is a hint that the lady has been portrayed in 'mythological' guise; later comments reinforce this suspicion. Mambrino calls the image 'el lienzo vil de una pintada mujer'

while, by contrast, Clarinarte strives to make him understand that the subject's 'divina armonía' will serve to inspire him (562).

Lope has not finished yet: Clarinarte must find out who she is and, as no Dutch captives have been taken in the attack, Mambrino is commanded to see whether a group of Clarinarte's soldiers can identify the lady in the picture. The portrait, which has survived Selenio's abuse and then been raised to a sublime level by Clarinarte's adoration, now receives another session of comic attention, with which Lope obviously intends to deflate Clarinarte's amor por el retrato. The first soldier concludes that she must be Leda, while the second (no doubt sounding authoritative when he starts) identifies her as...a woman:

Leardo. Esta es, a mi parecer,
si lo digo en dos razones,
según el rostro y faciones,
retrato de una mujer.
Mambrino. ¡Qué bien lo has adivinado!
Leardo. También puede ser que fuera
alguna bodegonera
de las del tiempo pasado.
Mambrino. ¡Calla, necio!
Leardo. ¿No es mujer? (562)

Another soldier thinks that she would be Narcissus, if she were a man; as a woman, she could be 'La Cava', Helen of Troy, or 'La Pava' (one of the women at the brothel).[4] Leardo now thinks that she looks like his own 'amiga', and asks for the image so that he can put it above his pillow ('¡Lo que a mi amiga parece, pesar de quien me parió!': 562). Prince Clarinarte is outraged, and threatens them with execution for their insults to a divine beauty that they cannot possibly comprehend:

Príncipe. Sin duda que no es mujer
beldad tan pura y suave.
Mas si es criatura del cielo,
¿cómo la conocerán
los que más bajos están
de cuanto sustente el suelo?(562)

The soldiers say what one would expect from traditionally comic buffoons, but prince Clarinarte, his refined taste for beauty and the portrait that is the object of his adoration do not escape unscathed. The likeness of the image, the 'mythological' presentation of the subject, Clarinarte's sublime infatuation with a mere image - nothing is spared the self-parody which is typical of Lope. Normality must be restored for the plot to go forward, and Lope, presumably sensing that the comic potential of this portrait episode has been exhausted, brings in a local inhabitant (Belardo the shepherd) who immediately identifies his queen, Rodiana, as the lady in the portrait.

Lope explores similar themes in La hermosa Alfreda (before 1601: Acad.N. VI). King Federico of Dalmacia and Alfreda fall in love with each other 'por retrato'; the king, rejecting a series of naipes, produces the portrait of the lady now in his thoughts ('saca un retrato del pecho en un tafetán': 211) and sends count Godofre to see if Alfreda is as beautiful as her image suggests. The king admits his own surprise that a portrait should have charmed him so much:

Rey. ¿Quién creyera
que ansí un alma cautivara
pincel que de Dios no fuera,
y que un hombre humano hiciera
cosa que tanto se amara? (211)

In an interesting exchange, his counsellors point out that God was initially responsible for her beauty, and that the

painter's image provides only indirect knowledge of the real woman:

> Cleonardo. Porque no hay cosa querida,
> como el Filósofo dice,
> si no es antes conocida.
> ¿Qué importa que éste matice
> un rostro sin alma y vida? [,]
> que tú mirando no amaras,
> si luego no imaginaras
> que es mujer su original.(211)

Lope now sees the opportunity to debate this issue of the trustworthy image. Another courtier suggests that painters, like poets, tend to flatter their sitters and that, consequently, the lady Alfreda will fall short of her portrait. Having suggested a little earlier (in the speech quoted above) that the painter has godlike creative powers, Lope now offers the alternative notion that painting is essentially sham and deception:

> Floriseo. Anda siempre al retratar
> lisonjeando el pintor
> porque desea agradar,
> que en cuanto es poner color
> es, en efeto, afeitar.
> Este rostro es muy perfeto;
> no lo será la verdad
> como el pincel, te prometo.(211)

The king has already taken steps to resolve this 'dificultad', and reveals that count Godofre has been sent to verify Alfreda's beauty. The king then retires to meditate on his inner image of his beloved: 'Vamos, pasaré el deseo/ deste imaginado amor/ que dentro del alma veo'(212). The debate is left unresolved: does cognition precede love in every case, and what kind of cognition is provided by a potentially unreliable portrait? Lope returns later in the play poking fun at the convention of amor por el retrato. Meanwhile, the

plot develops as Godofre betrays his master's trust and marries Alfreda for himself.[5] Later, Alfreda (who does not return Godofre's love) comes upon an image of the king, dropped by Godofre, and promptly falls in love with the unknown subject. Alfreda shows the portrait to her maid, explaining that it is not of Godofre; written on the image are the words 'soy de Alfreda'; the maid concludes that it must be Godofre's image:

> Florela. Que es de Godofre adivino.
> Alfreda. ¿Cómo, si tanto desdice?
> Florela. Porque hay, señora, pintor
> que se parece mejor
> lo que retrata al amigo.
> Alfreda. Si él fuera ansí, yo te digo
> que yo le tuviera amor.
> Florela. ¿Agrádate?
> Alfreda. Estoy perdida.
> Florela. ¿De un naipe?
> [...]
> Alfreda. ¡Oh si desta suerte fuera
> el Conde!(214-15)

Here, as before, Lope has mischievously balanced the theme of amor por el retrato with misgivings about the reliability if portrait painters.

Meanwhile, back in Dalmacia, the king's counsellors continue to warn him that the real Alfreda might disappoint him, while (to counter that view) Lope has Lisandra, Godofre's former beloved, express her admiration for the beauty of the lady in the portrait: 'Si hombre fuera,/ por la verdad me perdiera/ desta divina pintura'(219). Lope has now prepared the ground for Godofre's next ploy, which is to offer the king a monster portrait, first in words and then in painted form, of the 'real' Alfreda:

Godofre. Y porque este monstruo vieses
te truje aqueste retrato
de la imagen de la muerte.
Rey. Muestra. ¡Jesús, y qué espantoso monstruo!
¿Posible es que me han hecho aqueste engaño?
Cleonardo. La pintura, señor, es lisonjera:
siempre temí que no era Alfreda hermosa.
(221)

The king considers exiling all painters, but Floriano makes a good case for retaining an art so esteemed by monarchs and considered 'divina' in the past. The king is forced to agree that painting is an 'arte noble y milagroso'(221).

The whole of this first act of the play centres on the mutual love of the king and Alfreda, reached by means of painted portraits. But Lope has persistently undermined the notions of such a love, and of trust in portraiture; painting is alternately 'divine' and a sham. In the event, the portraits are accurate, and the love they inspire is fulfilled, but not without several more tilts at the convention. Alfreda discovers that she fell in love with the king's portrait, while he in turn falls in love with her when he sees her dressed as a countrygirl ('en figura de villana'), and calling herself Diana. He expresses his love in pictorial conceits, calling her 'un raro modelo/ del artífice del cielo', and suggesting that the classical painters and sculptors would be overwhelmed by her beauty: 'Protógenes sus pinceles/ rinde aquí, y el mismo Apeles'(238). At the end of a lengthy exclamation, he asks: '¿Quién es esta labradora?' He has not recognized her; perhaps because her disguise is so convincing (identical situations of impenetrable disguise occur elsewhere in the comedia), or perhaps Lope cannot resist

another joke. Similarly, when Alfreda shows the image of the king to Marfisa, so that she can confirm his identity by comparing portrait and sitter, the result is inconclusive:

> Alfreda. Marfisa, este rostro toma;
> Mira los que hablando están.
> ¿A cuál dellos se parece?
> Marfisa. Al Rey se parece un poco.(238)

The comment 'un poco' sounds innocent enough, as it initiates the second rhyme in the quintilla, but it seems that Lope is having some more fun. Either the image looks like the king, and Marfisa may be too coy, or temporarily embarrassed, or not refined enough to judge the quality of the image (one can only speculate as to how she was intended to act these words); alternatively, the portrait is not particularly accurate, in which case Alfreda's infatuation is undermined. How could the king become obsessed with a portrait of her and then not recognize her in different attire (with her face in full view), while describing her as a picture? How could she know enough to love a man by contemplating an image of him which looks 'a bit' like him? As in El soldado amante, Lope uses the painting conventions while simultaneously poking fun at them. He is exploiting the full dramatic potential of the contradictory nature of painting, as truth (verdad) on the one hand, and deception or confusion (color, engaño) on the other.

The device of amor por el retrato is developed in another direction by Lope in La quinta de Florencia (around 1600: Acad. XV), where a nobleman falls in love with a painted image of Venus and then finds and courts her human counterpart in the labradora Laura.[6] The theme of painting is central to the play, subtly informing a whole series of episodes which in

many ways prefigure similar moments in Peribáñez, and in Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra. César, secretary to duke Alejandro of Florence, tells how he built a beautiful country house outside the city and filled it with mythological paintings which aroused his sexual appetite, most notably an image of Venus with Adonis and Cupid:

> César. Diome deseo de amar
> una mujer como aquélla
> si la hallase hoy en el mundo,
> quiero decir, en Florencia.(365)

After searching in vain for a woman resembling the painted Venus, César reflected on the folly of a passion which even made him jealous of Adonis:

> César. Mil veces con celos quise,
> aunque el lienzo se perdiera,
> cortar el Adonis todo:
> ¡mirad si amor tiene fuerza!
> Otras veces, en su rostro
> retratar el mío quisiera,
> porque, pintura a pintura,
> gozara lo que pudiera.(365)

Finally, César sought respite in the countryside where he saw Laura washing clothes by a stream, a peasant woman who was the 'bello retrato/ de aquella Venus'(366). Throughout the play Lope carefully sets the natural against the artificial, as (for example) when he stresses the contrived beauty of César's gardens and fountains, and later has Laura discovered by the besotted nobleman beside 'una fuente nativa'. Lope uses this contrast to convey even the psychological state of César, as he describes his first encounter with Laura:

> César. Llegué a una fuente nativa
> que entre dos pintadas peñas
> formaba aquel manso arroyo,
> bullendo el agua en la arena,
> y vi... (365)

César cannot help alluding to art ('pintadas') in his description of a natural scene; although the adjective pintado was used regularly, without the implication of artificiality, to mean something like 'gaily-coloured', it is clear from Lope's recurrent association of the word with César in this play that we are meant to see a double meaning here. In César's mind, Laura inhabits the mythological painting (in which he first loved her beauty) at least as much as the natural world. Unfortunately for César, this 'retrato' of Venus disdains the presents of gold, cloth ('tela'), and 'un agnus luminado/ del pincel de un gran pintor'(369) with which he has tried to win her love, and throughout the play Lope seems to suggest that what is natural is good while painted artifice can have a dubious value, and, if wrongly used, can cloud the judgement or turn one's wits. For example, when duke Alejandro at one point conceives of a plan to emulate Alexander's generosity to Apelles and become his 'magnífico retrato', the 'art' connection has made him lose all appreciation of the real events around him (372). Laura's father defies César when he comes to kidnap his daughter in terms which will later be used by Peribáñez when he in turn condemns the painted luxury of the Comendador: 'Lucindo. Soy más bueno que tú cuarenta veces/ en tu quinta pintada y llena de armas'(383).

When César has kidnapped and raped Laura, her father goes to the duke's palace to ask for justice. At this point Lope begins to develop the counter theme of the retrato as truth; the two rustics accompanying Lucindo remark on the paintings

in the ante-room, and Roselo is impressed by a picture of Alexander the Great: '¡Oh, cómo muestra valor/ en aquel caballo armado!'(384). Duke Alejandro will, by the end of the play, give justice to Lucindo and emulate his illustrious namesake. Lucindo invites the duke to eat at his house, and by accepting the invitation the duke illustrates his greatness (Lucindo. 'Ya que gustáis, gran señor,/ de cifrar vuestra grandeza/ con hecho de tanto amor': 390). He finds a piece of paper under his plate, which is a reminder that a prince's diet must include concern for his subject's honour; this is a truthful 'portrait' given by Lucindo: 'por principio os di/ desta virtud un retrato'(390).

The duke then goes with Lucindo to César's quinta to free Laura and administer justice for her family. When the duke remarks on the quantity of paintings that César has collected, their owner points out the better ones with some pride:

> César. La pintura, señor, es estremada,
> la casa pobre, aunque en alegre sitio;
> de Michael Angel son aquellos cuadros,
> y del Ticiano aquella Filomena
> que, forzada, se queja de Tereo.(393)

Here César has unconsciously (perhaps, subconsciously) drawn attention to an image of his own guilt, set again in a mythological context. The duke and Laura's father have already noticed the painting, and the latter has been drawn to the figure of Pandión, Filomena's complaining father:

> Alejandro. Esa miré con atención un rato.
> ¡Qué fiero está Tereo, y qué quejosa
> la bella Filomena!
> Lucindo. Allá, en lo lejos,
> se queja bien a Pandión, su padre.
> Alejandro. ¿También sabéis de historias vos, buen viejo?

Lucindo. Como soy padre, aficionéme luego
a la persona de aquel rey quejoso,
viendo cómo ha sentido el ver su hija
en poder de un tirano.
César. Razón tuvo,
que era rey en efeto.
Lucindo. Aunque rey fuera
entonces, como yo tosco villano,
sintiera con igual dolor su afrenta.(393)

By using this device, a kind of dramatic ecphrasis, Lope has achieved several important and simultaneous effects. Firstly, César is trapped by his pride (in his picture collection), or by his guilty conscience, or (a third alternative) by his attempt to divert the duke away from his mission, into calling attention to a painted image of abduction and violation - his own crime. Secondly, the duke sees painted figures showing a kind of truth and demanding justice, and this reinforces Lucindo's earlier pleas for retribution. Thirdly, Lucindo sees his predicament presented in the person of Pandión. Furthermore, the persuasive portrayal of Pandión's anguish makes César feel bound to admit that rape deserves punishment, although his ingrained disregard for the peasant class prevents him from applying the lesson to his own crime. Lope's other achievement here is to present a mythological image of the suffering and discord which have resulted from a perverted love (or, more properly, lust) which had its origins in César's own mythological fantasy. With the use of the mythological paintings, and with his emblematic use of the wild boar imagery (which he also uses in other plays), Lope is able to add extra dimensions to the human action on the stage. This play points to the powerful hold exerted over the mind by the painted image, and to the potential of art to change the

character or even turn the wits of the viewer. Painting can inspire or it can corrupt: it conveys higher truths and yet it is also an artificial illusion at odds with the natural. This dual view of art was also shared by Cervantes, as A.J. Close has shown:

> In comparison with nature, art is a variable factor, in that it can be regarded as necessary or superfluous, beneficial or perverse. To contrast the work of men with nature has the effect of putting the former in perspective and exposing its limitations. [...] Aristotle said that human art imitates nature, but can never match or surpass it. We have seen something of this attitude, expressed on an emotional and imaginative level, in Cervantes' writings. [...] Cervantes' aesthetic tastes also reveal a preference for nature disciplined by art.[7]

Within the paradox of the <u>vivo retrato</u> and <u>verdad afeitada</u> of his drama (a self-conscious illusion that is also what Barreda called a <u>pintura fiel</u>) Lope explores the tension between the artificial and the natural in the language, the ideas and the mechanics of the play. E.W. Tayler has concluded in a useful survey that Renaissance man considered the terms Art and Nature valuable categories, and consequently did not tire of employing them, with 'numbing frequency' and in an enormous variety of contexts, as a means of 'organizing his views of himself and his experience'.[8] In Lope's theatre, Art and Nature do not just engage in what Tárrega calls 'mil apacibles batallas'(<u>El cerco de Rodas</u>, <u>PDV</u> I, 268a), but also infiltrate into each other's ranks (so to speak), so that the naturalness of the artificial imitating the natural (Lope: 'cultiva el arte naturales flores') and the artificiality of the natural imitating the artificial become new paradoxes to explore, both

to exercise the mind and to create dramatic, especially comic, effect.[9]

The theme of life imitating art (in a play where art is already imitating life) is explored by Lope in several plays, where characters pretend to be statues. In La infanta desesperada (1588-95) prince Doristán pretends to be a statue of himself, while in La viuda valenciana (1595-1603) three suitors attempt to disguise themselves by posing as figures around a doorway. In the first of these plays Lope uses the device on two separate occasions. The princess Lavinia is famed for her beauty: 'en quien la naturaleza/ puso divinos matices'(Acad.N. I, 225); furthermore, portraits (paintings of nature's original 'painting') have confirmed the rumours. Prince Doristán is smitten by one of these portraits, and sets off disguised as a pilgrim into enemy territory to see the lady he now loves. Once in her presence, he plays at being his own ambassador, describing the effect her 'divino retrato' had on Doristán. He offers to show her the prince's portrait, but she hesitates because what she has already heard has left her impressed with a man who is after all an enemy. She has seen off suitors in the flesh, so there is surely no need to fear a mere image ('una pintura muda': 232). Instead of showing her a portrait, Doristán has his servant open a door to reveal himself in statuesque pose:

> Nicedio. Este es, señora, pues de verle gustas,
> de Doristán el natural retrato,
> y el que sacarse más propio se pudo.(232)

Lavinia reacts in horror at being deceived in this way, using the line: '¿Cómo este hombre en mi casa me has metido?'(232).

It is interesting that there is no indication in the text that she has recognized him at all; perhaps, as in other plays, the pilgrim disguise he wore previously was impenetrable; alternatively, it may be that Lope cannot resist a further joke, namely, that Lavinia does not merely fail to recognize Doristán from his portrait, as we have seen other characters do in Lope's plays, but fails to recognize him in person pretending to be his own statue. The implications of this situation would have intrigued contemporary audiences who particularly relished variations on the theme of 'engañar con la verdad': here in the form of 'natural retrato'. The joke takes another twist when Lavinia, assured that the statue is 'de piedra', hints that she would be more impressed if Doristán had come in person, risking his life for her. Later on in the play Doristán and Lavinia repeat the ploy, managing to fool an old retainer into accepting that the living statue is made of stone, despite the softness of his hands; in this scene, the stage directions say that the prince 'pónese de retrato'(235), which presumably means that he adopts a pose of the kind favoured by portrait painters, an equivalent of our Napoleonic hand-inside-coat stereotype. Referring to this play, Peyton concluded that 'both instances of the statue deception are clumsy and strain the credulity of the audience'.[10] This seems to be missing the point; the statue-deception device was a well-established element in the repertoire of the <u>commedia dell'arte</u>, where the emphasis was certainly more on comic effect than on believability.[11] In this particular play there are more <u>burlas</u> than <u>veras</u> as Lope

toys with variations on the theme of the vivo retrato.

Like his predecessors and contemporaries, Lope often uses portraits to start the action or move it forward. For example, in El Arenal de Sevilla (1603) Lope wounds Alberto in a duel over a portrait and flees to Seville. In the course of the play, the various versions of the quarrel are presented, and the disagreement resolved when Alberto gets the sitter (or dueño) as compensation for the affront. Where Lope differs from the Valencian group of dramatists is that he generally provides some kind of assessment of the portrait in a play. This may be to question its reliability, if that suits his purpose; it may be to praise a painter friend of his, as in El Arenal de Sevilla where we are told that the painting was probably painted by Pedro Guzmán:

Lucinda. Un retrato,
que un cierto pintor famoso,
pienso que Guzmán llamado,
de sólo verme una fiesta
hizo con divina mano,
que, como naturaleza,
hace su pincel milagros.[12]

Here we have only a guarantee, and not a description of the portrait's quality. Lope offers more in other plays, as when in El soldado amante (1590-1600: Acad.N. IX) Rodiana examines the portrait of a Spanish suitor:

Rodiana. Quiero el español ver.
Ginebra. Este es que tienes delante.
Rodiana. Aun pintado es arrogante.
Ginebra. No tiene mal parecer.
Rodiana. Tienen éstos la braveza
mezclada con la blandura;
y del hombre la hermosura,
no es más de la gentileza.
Bien mira.
Ginebra. Quiso el pintor;
que eso está muy en su mano.(555)

The painter has managed to convey, or has not been able to avoid conveying, the sitter's arrogance (a quality described exclusively in negative terms by Covarrubias).[13] But Ginebra and Rodiana cannot help being impressed by him, probably because he is Spanish. In this context of an arrogant pose or look, there is an interesting comment in El favor agradecido (1593) where Tiberio, disembarking with his Sicilian forces, is identified from the walls of a Sardinian city as 'el mancebo del bastón,/ que hace piernas arrogante'(Acad.N. V, 496). Since he is onstage with his men busy disembarking around him, he would need to adopt a pose which conveyed arrogance. Perhaps there was a recognized formula to achieve this effect, and perhaps Rodiana's comments on the Spanish suitor refer as much to his pose (if the portrait shows more than his face) as to his looks and his attire. The comment 'bien mira', in El soldado amante could mean that the Spaniard looks good in the portrait, or that he looks impressively out at the spectator. It has the ring of a short, authentic comment that people might have made about portraiture (like Tárrega's 'buen color', see above, pp. 251-52). The skill of the painter, which Ginebra hints at, could be either the power to flatter a mediocre sitter or, more positively, the capacity to convey through his painting the subtle mixture of personal and (in this case) national features which Rodiana describes. The comments may be about non-existent portraits, but the patterns of thought behind the words are genuine enough; this suggests that either there already existed, or there was developing, a tendency to assess the painter's skill in

conveying the personality behind the features of the sitter: 'pintar el ánimo' (see above, p. 54). We can only guess how far this represented a complete or partial break from the notion of facial and bodily stereotypes of the kind listed by (for example) Pedro Mexía, Juan Huarte and Vicente Carducho (who based his list closely on an Italian compilation of 1591, which in turn was derived from Albrecht Dürer).[14] Mexía, quoting various authorities, asserts that 'la muy chica cabeza en el hombre es señal de poco juicio [...] de manera que tener buen tamaño de cabeza arguye buen entendimiento'(vol. I, 112). For Huarte (1575) a big head indicates a lack of brain power, while thick dark hair denotes good imagination or understanding; furthermore, men of great understanding are 'desaliñados y sucios'(93, 143-44, and 148: note 32). In Carducho's list the prudent man will have a large head and small body, etc.(fol. 140^{r}). Carducho emphasizes that this system is not 'infalible', since a man who <u>looks</u> to be 'pésimo' may use his 'libre albedrío' to overcome his evil inclinations; these stereotypes are nonetheless useful for the painter to know (fol. 141^{v}). Even more interesting, perhaps, is his list of 'acciones y afectos' relating to each type, particularly in relation to acting techniques of the period.[15]

When, in <u>Los locos de Valencia</u>, Lope has Pisano react to Floriano's portrait with the comment 'gentil presencia'(see above, p. 288), we can deduce (with the help of Covarrubias) that he is referring to his fine build, or 'buen talle', from which his noble status could be inferred.[16] Again, when the portrait of Alexander the Great is said to convey valour:

'muestra valor' (see above, p. 298), a specific stance may have been envisaged. In each of these imagined portraits, a skilful painter is once again implied, who has conveyed what Carducho called 'afectos'. In another play, Los cautivos de Argel (1599: Acad.N. IV), attributed to Lope but considered 'doubtful' by Morley and Bruerton, some Moors comment on portraits of Philip III and his queen:

> Rey[de Arg]. Id por los retratos luego.
> [...]
> (El retrato del Rey con un tafetán)
> El rostro del Rey mostradme.
> ¡Gallardo mancebo!
> Moro 1. ¡Hermoso!
> Moro 2. ¡Fuerte!
> Conocí a su padre.
> Dios os le guarde, cautivos.
> Herrera. Alá por eso te guarde.
> (El de la señora Reina)
> [...]
> Rey. Parece un ángel.
> Gran virtud muestra y valor.
> Mil años viva. Tapalde.(259)

Again, even allowing for the tendentious appraisal of the royal portraits, there is every sign that qualities like courage, virtue and strength were conveyed and perceived in a style of portraiture which did not depersonalize the sitter. In this last play the Moors (and the audience) are assured that the portraits are 'copias tan semejantes'(259).

In La viuda valenciana (1595-1603) Leonarda explains why she paid so much for a portrait:

> Julia. ¿Y cómo diste por ella [la imagen]
> tanta suma de dinero?
> Leonarda. Por el pincel que le dan;
> Que el dueño me satisfizo
> Que allá en la corte la hizo
> Un famoso catalán.[17]

Here the phrase 'por el pincel que le dan' could have two meanings: on the one hand, it could refer to the painter, in

the sense 'because they assure me that it is by a quality painter'; alternatively, it could refer to the brushwork in the portrait. Either way, Leonarda is using the jargon of art appreciation to conceal the urge she has as a young widow to find herself another man; the contemplation of a man's portrait is therefore a preliminary, symbolic gesture. There are other episodes in this play when images are evaluated; one of Leonarda's unwelcome suitors comes disguised as an 'estampero', or print-seller. Despite smelling a rat, Leonarda cannot resist looking at the prints:

Leonarda. Mostrad. ¿Qué es este papel?
Valerio. El Adonis del Ticiano,
Que tuvo divina mano
Y peregrino pincel.
¡Oh, quién este hubiera sido
Cuando fue tan regalado!
[...]
Esta, por vida de Aurelio,
Que es de las ricas y finas;
Que es de Rafael de Urbinas
Y cortada de Cornelio.
Esta es de Martín de Vos,
Y aquésta de Federico.
Leonarda. Mal a estas cosas me aplico.
¿No traéis cosas de Dios?
Valerio. Sí traigo. Aquí hay una estampa
Del matrimonio, escogida.(87-88)

The adjectives rica and fina (Covarrubias: 'bueno' and 'perfeto y acabado', respectively) seem to convey no specific meaning beyond excellence in this context; this is reinforced by Valerio's (no doubt) authentic street-seller's shout of '¡A la rica estampa fina!'(86). The phrase 'peregrino pincel' is also a common formula. Lope's list of painters, headed by Titian (his and many people's favourite), and the display of prints serve the double function of showing that Valerio has done his homework and of providing Leonarda with the chance to

repeat her earlier denial of interest in images of attractive men (the other two prints would surely have shown alternatives to Adonis). Later in the play Camilo has time during a visit, in the dark to meet Leonarda, to remark on the 'bravos cuadros y pinturas' in her house; in this instance, the sumptuousness that Covarrubias connects with the word bravo is something that could be deduced from a quick glance at a poorly-lit image.[18]

Closely related to the many other painting themes in this play is the theme of the statue, which has already been mentioned. Firstly, one of the suitors alludes to the Prometheus legend as he laments his failure to soften Leonarda: 'Fabrica un escultor una figura/ de un mármol duro, de una piedra helada,/ y viene a tener ser lo que no era'(57); another suitor, Otón, wishes he had Cicero's 'retóricos colores'(66), before describing Leonarda as 'hermosa y muda'(68), thereby reinforcing the statue theme. Then, in the scene already mentioned, one suitor (seeking a place to hide) merges into the architecture around a door; the second suitor, also needing to hide, adopts a (probably identical) pose on the other side of the door, with the comment: 'Se ha de conformar la arquitectura/ y se han de estar los mármoles iguales'(122). The third suitor interrupts his thinking out loud when he sees the two 'statues', because these 'vivas sombras' could be listening; after all, walls have ears. He then needs to hide, and poses in the middle, giving the game away for all three. Once again Lope is exploiting the comic potential of the art-becomes-life/ life-becomes-art theme.

Inevitably, Apelles is mentioned and, elsewhere in the play, painters are said to share 'la imaginación profunda' with poets, while painting is described as a miraculous skill, worthy (by implication) of a gentleman (120, 130 and 175).

Various facets of Lope's interest in painting have been studied by Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, José Camón Aznar and Frederick de Armas.[19] He considered himself born at painting's door - his father worked in embroidery; Pérez de Montalbán tells how he spent freely on paintings and books; his will of 1627 lists no shortage of paintings in his house; a well-known miniaturist, Felipe de Liaño, was a close friend; he refers to contemporary painters in many of his works (Lafuente Ferrari, 16-25). José Camón Aznar and Frederick de Armas differ in their assessment of Lope's 'critical insight into painting': the second scholar concludes, rightly in my opinion, that Lope was 'well versed in the theory and history of art'(338 and 344). For de Armas the evocation of specific paintings by Titian (a painter alluded to at least fourteen times in Lope's works) 'enriches the texture of Lope's pictorial art'(345). There can be no doubt that he sympathized with the arguments in favour of painting as a liberal art; the issue starts to feature in his plays around 1600 and he comes to Carducho's support in the 1620s with a deposition and some verses.[20]

I shall concentrate on Los Ponces de Barcelona (1610-12: Acad.N. VIII) where Lope dramatizes the question of painting's noble status. The plot can be briefly summarized: Pedro Ponce has married Lucrecia, the daughter of a painter; she was poor, although noble and her only dowry was her considerable virtue.

As he returns with his new wife to Barcelona, he is sure (although the gracioso is not) that his father, Dionís, will welcome the marriage. Despite the intercession of an old friend, Dionís reacts angrily to the news. Pedro is bemused:

> Es mi esposa
> bien nacida y virtuosa
> y que puede, con decencia,
> cualquier hidalgo ejercer,
> si a las historias creemos,
> o a la verdad, si debemos
> más a la verdad creer,
> el oficio de su padre,
> digo el arte de pintor.(572)

He testifies to his wife's 'riches' of virtue and discretion,

and to the nobility of painting:

> Vuelve los ojos, sin razón airados,
> a ver una mujer discreta, hermosa,
> hija de padres pobres, pero honrados
> de su virtud y una arte generosa.
> Si fueron los pintores estimados,
> hasta tenerlos por divina cosa,
> pregunta, padre, [a] aquella edad pasada
> en que como deidad fue venerada.(573)

Here Lope seems to be establishing some kind of equation between Lucrecia and painting: the nobility of one is the nobility of the other. Pedro goes on to mention the royal favour bestowed by Charles the Fifth on Bandinello 'por justo pago de su pincel'; his father should not dismiss painting because there are bad painters, any more than one can criticize Nature the painter for an occasional ugly or deficient human being:

> Así [hay] también pinceles soberanos
> que unos pintan verdad y otros mentiras,
> porque los raros pintan con las manos
> y con los pies los que ignorantes miras.(574)

His father does not dispute the nobility of painting, but using the picture metaphor, he laments the fact that his

daughter-in-law is so poor: '¿Qué me importa que el arte sea excelente/ de quien esta pintura le compraste?'(574); he can appreciate the idea of paintings on a wall, but he cannot see the value of Pedro's 'pintura viva que anda y habla', namely Lucrecia - the product of 'padres y pinceles'(574). He cannot work out where Pedro wants him to hang 'esta pintura que tú llamas imagen de tu esposa'; she brings no benefit - she is not 'provechosa'(574). He then puns on the word figura: '¿Tantas partes buscaste a tu figura/ que en casa de un pintor fue justa cosa/ irla a buscar?'; figura here means 'status' and 'image', and (in line with current usage) perhaps even 'ridiculous figure'. He invites Pedro, since he has chosen to honour painters 'y sus primores' by marrying Lucrecia, to earn his living with 'pincel y colores'(574). Lucrecia then has her say, describing herself as 'la mejor tabla de un honrado pintor'; her parents died happy in the knowledge that their 'picture', coveted by many noblemen, was to have a rich frame (moldura); if he will not accept 'esta tabla' then she will learn to live 'desguarnecida', and ever virtuous. The father reacts angrily: 'Pintura que habla llaman la poesía;/ así debe de ser esta señora./ Mi hijo es hombre...'(574). In rejecting Lucrecia the 'picture', Dionís is rejecting painting, although he thinks he can distinguish between the two: for him art is worthless without the frame. Dionís goes from bad to worse, disinheriting his son, questioning the legitimacy of his grandson and then threatening the whole family with a shotgun. When some friends try to justify the marriage, he reacts as before:

> Bernardo. Hacienda tenéis vos y ella nobleza.
> Dionís. ¿Nobleza la pintura?
> Ramiro. ¿Pues no puede
> la pintura tener tan justo nombre?
> ¿Lo que adoráis no pintan los pastores?
> Dionís. También visten los sastres una imagen.
> (577-78)

At this point Pedro, who fled from the shotgun, disappears from the action for twenty-two years, and his wife and son are left to serve a nobleman as gardeners. Each impresses the locals with their 'buen talle', and Lope has Lucrecia described as 'de un ángel retrato'(581), thereby picking up again the picture theme of the first act. Lucrecia finally explains that her father was a painter, reaffirms the nobility of art ('a naturaleza tal vez enmienda las faltas') and explains what happened (585). The third act shows us the long-lost Pedro, now a captive among the Moors, curing the obesity of Barbarroja; when Dalife comments on Pedro's success: 'Todo se rinde al arte'(590), what he says refers to the physician's art, but has wider implications as well in the context of this play. Pedro is rewarded for his 'arte' by being freed, and a return to past happiness seems likely. Lucrecia, predictably, does not recognize him, but when he sees a man (his son) admitted to Lucrecia's house he senses dishonour and draws his sword:

> Padre. Abre, atrevida pintora.
> Abre, pues tan mal pintaste
> la figura de la honra
> que en mí pusiste las luces
> y en ti pusiste las sombras.(600)

The play ends with reconciliation and marriages. The conceit in this last speech, which in some ways prefigures Calderón's 'pintor de su deshonra', recalls Pedro's assertion that

painting can be misused by 'pintores bárbaros y atrevidos'(574). The 'sombras' of the painting conceit symbolize her (imagined) guilt, while the 'luces' symbolize his consequent dishonour exposed for the world to see. The debate about the status of painting has been aired and the verdict in favour implicitly given. Lucrecia as both painting and painter confirms her status as she sees her son marry a noblewoman. In an echo of Guillén de Castro's conceit of the 'retrato sin guarnición'(see above, pp. 261-62), Lope finishes the play with Lucrecia no longer 'desguarnecida'. By the end of the play the 'painting' and, by extension, painting in general have achieved the recognition they deserve.

The symbolism of another of Lope's plays, Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña (around 1610), has been the focus of a good many scholarly articles. Victor Dixon was among the first to draw attention to the significance of the portrait project which he rightly considered 'not merely a device to advance the plot'; by commissioning the portrait of Casilda, don Fadrique places her 'metaphorically' on a pedestal, and his adoration of her 'takes the religion of love to the point of blasphemy (with overtones of sympathetic magic)'.[21] A few years later (and independently, it seems) Mary Gaylord Randel approached the portrait episode along similar lines, and detected that Lope had struck a kind of balance between the portrait (retrato) of Casilda and the statue (imagen) of San Roque.[22] Concurring with most of her lines of interpretation, I feel that one point she makes needs to be re-examined. Working from the debatable premise that 'Casilda's beauty

first inspires in don Fadrique an idealistic adoration'(146), she moves on to conclude that 'the portrait will show Casilda in her peasant dress, yet will idealize her'(147). Lope takes great pains to emphasize that the portrait is an accurate likeness: the painter in the play, while conceding that the project will be 'dificultoso' (given the circumstances - painting her secretly, and in fading light), undertakes to make a faithful portrait: 'yo me atrevo a que se parezca mucho'(lines 1016-18); don Fadrique will have the miniature (naipe) copied onto a canvas (lienzo) if the likeness is good: 'si se parece en el naipe'(1020) - he later tells Leonardo that the likeness of the naipe was good (1262); he wants her portrayed in the very ('mismas') clothes and religious images (patenas) that she is wearing; the painter perceives her extreme beauty, not hinting that he can make her look better (1041); Peribáñez and the discreet Antón recognize Casilda instantly when they see the portrait in the painter's house; the painter obviously thinks he has achieved a very good likeness until Peribáñez pretends not to identify the sitter (1698-1701); finally, there might well be a play on the word fiel in the following exchange:

> Peribáñez. Luego ¿ella no es sabidora?
> Pintor. Como vos antes de agora;
> antes, por ser tan fiel,
> tanto trabajo costó
> el poderla retratar.(1717-21)

Here the word fiel certainly refers to Casilda's faithfulness, but may simultaneously hint at the quality of the faithful likeness. As far as the backdrop prescribed by don Fadrique is concerned, it is a simplified (even stylized) version of

what he thinks of as the countryside: flower-filled meadows and a sky with cotton-wool clouds: 'Retrata, pintor, al cielo/ todo bordado de nubes,/ y retrata un prado ameno/ todo cubierto de flores' (1037-40). Neither the landscape nor the implied colours are a product of his imagination.[23] He does not want her set against a crowded urban backdrop. There are no instructions to idealize or beatify her; in this context, Jill Booty's modern translation distorts the meaning: 'Paint heaven on your canvas, and the earth as well, covered in flowers'.[24] When Peribáñez asks '¿Es Casilda tan hermosa?', he is pretending not to recognize her; he knows only too well how beautiful she is, for he has been told by others and he has told her so.[25] He is obviously amazed to find a portrait of his wife, and find it there, but I think that it is stretching a point to state that he is 'fascinated by it, only half conscious that it represents his wife', that Peribáñez is so overwhelmed by the portrait and its implications 'that his wife's real beauty and virtue pale before it', and that 'the portrait eclipses the virtue of Casilda and threatens to blind Peribáñez as it has the Comendador'(Randel, 155-56). He may want to come back again and again to marvel at the portrait (or perhaps to check it is still there and not in don Fadrique's possession) but there seems to be no evidence to link his 'inordinate' fascination with some kind of failure to recognize his wife in the image. The whole point is surely that the portrait does not idealize Casilda, even if don Fadrique may. He asks for and he gets an accurate likeness of

her. It is not the painter who converts Casilda into some kind of goddess, but don Fadrique.

There is a later, but otherwise undatable, reworking of the Peribáñez story, composed by 'tres ingenios' with the title La mujer de Peribáñez.[26] Some of the characters are different, and the sequence and presentation of events is not as satisfying as Lope's version. For example, the play opens with the Comendador fresh from his visit to Toledo, and with Casilda's portrait already in his possession. Peribáñez, while unattended at the Comendador's house, pulls aside curtains to examine three portraits in an anteroom, and the third one is Casilda's image. We cannot be sure whether or not the writers of this play had Lope's version before them, or that they even knew Lope's play very well; it would be surprising, but not impossible. One is justified, however, in assuming that Lope's version exerted some kind of influence on the composition of the later play. Whether coincidentally, or as a result of Lope's model, the later play also stresses the accuracy of the likeness in the portrait. We do not see the painter or the act of portrayal, nor are we told anything about the sitter's attire and the background. But Peribáñez's recognition of his wife is instantaneous:

(Descubre el rostro de Casilda)
¿Qué es lo que mis ojos ven?
Mal haya infame pincel,
que con atrevida mano
mi deshonor inhumano
supo trasladar tan fiel.
Si pudo ser que sin culpa
aquí pudieses estar,
pues te faltó [sic: for 'falta'?] sólo hablar,
habla, y dime la disculpa. (Tenth page)

Whether by chance or design, therefore, both versions of the portrait episode stress the naturalism of the image.

Lope's Comedia del Perseo (1612-13: BAE 190) is a very different type of play set in a mythological never-never land where anything can happen and does. The themes of the mirror and the portrait underpin many of the events that take place. In the first act the pregnant Danae announces that her son will be 'de mi valor un traslado' and then the new-born Perseus is described as 'un niño que parece traslado del mismo sol'(13 and 14); early in the second act, Perseus' stepfather calls him 'el espejo en que miro lo que he sido'(24). The two themes are then more fully developed when Fineo shows Medusa a portrait of Andromeda, and Mercury gives Perseus the mirror shield to help him slay Medusa. Fineo makes the mistake of praising Andromeda's beauty to Medusa: '¿Cómo te sabré pintar su divina perfección?'(26); when words fail him he offers the portrait:

Fineo. Mas ¿Para qué te encarezco
la que alabar no merezco?
Mírala en este retrato,
aunque fue el pincel ingrato
al valor por quien padezco.
Medusa. Muestra a ver. ¡Qué hermosa cara!
Fineo. En que es la sombra repara
del sol por quien vivo y muero.
Medusa. Aqueste retrato quiero.(26)

Meanwhile Perseus tries out his 'luciente escudo' with its 'cristalino espejo' on some allegorical giants, and blinds them all. When he comes face to face with Medusa and resists her amorous advances, she decides to use Andromeda's portrait to disarm him; it is here that the portrait and mirror themes come together:

Medusa. Pero si yo no te agrado,
palabra, Perseo, te doy
de traerte donde estoy
el rostro más celebrado
que ha hecho naturaleza.
Perseo. ¿Quién?
Medusa. La princesa de Tiro,
La bella Andrómeda.
Perseo. Admiro
la fama de su belleza;
pero tú, ¿cómo podrás?
Medusa. Mis encantos lo han de hacer;
¿quiéresla ver?
Perseo. ¡Quiero ver
si pueden engaños más!
Medusa. Dame, Mirelia, un espejo
Perseo. ¿Qué quieres hacer?
Medusa. Que veas
su rostro en él, si deseas
ver cómo tomó consejo
con el cielo el lisonjero
pincel de su aurora bella;
porque, en fin, no quiso hacella
sin consultalle primero.

(Sacan el espejo, y dásele)

Perseo. Es la más bella mujer
que en toda mi vida vi;
dame este espejo.
Medusa. Si aquí
la puedes agora ver,
en apartándome yo
no podrás; pero, en pequeño,
te daré un rostro que el dueño
con lágrimas me dejó.
No es tan vivo como aquí,
pero está bien natural.
Toma.
Perseo. Es cosa celestial.
Medusa. ¿Quiéresla?
Perseo. Digo que sí.(31-32)

Here the portrait in the mirror and the miniature are vehicles of a deception (engaño), designed to enslave Perseo, who is already susceptible because he admires Andromeda by reputation. Despite the negative definition by Covarrubias of lisonja as 'loor engañoso' and of lisonjero as 'adulador', the adjective did not always convey censure, even if the noun usually did; Autoridades says of lisonjero that 'se usa también como adjetivo aplicándole a cualquier cosa que deleita

o agrada'. If the image in the magical mirror is the most captivating because of its implied likeness, the miniature, although not quite as lifelike, is nonetheless 'bien natural'. It is not clear in the 1621 text how exactly this scene with mirror and portrait was to be staged; for example, were the audience meant to see Andromeda's portrait in some way reflected in the mirror? Any mirror employed to reflect an enlarged version of the miniature would surely distort it badly. Was Medusa's servant to hold the miniature behind Perseus, so that he was unaware of the source of the image in the mirror? I prefer a simpler explanation: the audience see the reaction of Perseus, without seeing the face of the mirror, which for extra effect could reflect a light source behind his back into his face. The magic mirror is thereby all the more mysterious. An example from Tirso illustrates the point: in La república al revés (pub. 1636) the emperor Constantino is invited by his concubine to look at himself in a mirror: 'mírate tú en tu retrato/ y verás cuán bien pareces'.[27] He looks into the mirror and recoils in terror ('espántase') for he sees the man, who he thinks is dead, coming to overthrow him: 'Un hombre armado/ del propio rostro y figura/ de Leoncio, que procura/ matarme'(102). Lidora can see nothing ('sola aquí mi imagen veo'), and might perhaps turn the mirror to the audience here to confirm her point; the emperor puts it down to some kind of hechizo. His reaction to the mirror is all the more spine-chilling precisely because we do not see what he sees. I think the same technique in the case of Perseus would add to rather than detract from the

intensity of his fascination with the image of Andromeda. A recent editor of the play, while basing his text on the 1621 version, includes the following stage direction from another (post-1650) version of the play, entitled La bella Andrómeda: 'Traigan un espejo cuyo cristal tenga quitado el azogue para que detrás dél esté pintado el rostro de Andrómeda'.[28] This is a more prosaic and less dramatic solution to the problem, and probably represents one stage manager's response to the episode, or (at most) one subsequent line of interpretation, for it was clearly not prescribed by Lope.

Perseus duly kills Medusa with the mirror shield, beheads her, and Pegasus is born from her blood. The two portraits of Andromeda have had their effect on Perseus; when he tells his servant 'voy perdido por Andromeda' a brief debate begins: 'Celio. Pues, ¿Amor enciende lo que no ha visto?'(35), to which Perseo answers yes, for only love can achieve this miracle (milagro). The topic is resumed in the third act, as Perseo complains: 'vengo perdido adorando este retrato'; Celio comments that 'gran muestra del cielo ha sido' and Perseus speculates on what Andromeda must be like in the flesh: '¿Qué será el real ornato, sol de tanta luz vestido?'(40). The mirror theme resurfaces as Fineo, gone mad for love of the threatened Andromeda, speaks to his reflection ('otra persona': 44) in the waters of a fountain in what is clearly an echo of Garcilaso's second eclogue. In an obvious allusion to Garcilaso's third eclogue, Fineo then asks the nymphs to weave a tapestry ('pintad': 45) of his and Andromeda's tragedy. Perseus then sees Andromeda chained to the rock; she

is 'de la desdicha un retrato,/ de la piedad una imagen', as Perseus remarks on her 'tan rara hermosura' and 'tan divinas partes'(46). When Perseus arrives riding Pegasus, Andromeda's father concludes that these visions ('estas imágenes') must be a 'continuación de mi triste pensamiento'(49). Perseus then rescues Andromeda and uses the mirror shield to restore Fineo's wits. As can be seen, the notions of the painted image and the reflection are central to the language and action of the play; the portrait represents both truthful likeness (natural) and symbolic likeness ('retrato de la desdicha'); the mirror can be destructive, curative or plain mystifying, depending on the situation or state of mind. The play also illustrates the point that in the right circumstances the portrait can be a means of deception.

Deception is an important theme again in Lope's El mayor imposible (1615: Acad.N. XII), where Lisardo's portrait is used as bait to seduce Diana, the well-guarded sister of Roberto. The play opens in queen Antonia's ornamental gardens where it is said 'el arte se acaba en ellos'(581); here Lisardo undertakes the challenge to prove that Roberto is wrong to maintain that one can 'guardar una mujer si ella no quiere guardarse'; when he sees how readily Lisardo drops his current lady to concentrate on Diana, Ramón, Lisardo's servant remarks that 'todos los amantes son cifras de engaños'(586). In the course of the action, Ramón arouses Diana's interest with an 'accidental' glimpse of a portrait: 'hace Ramón como que esconde un retrato'(591). It is a 'retrato de naipe' of Lisardo, whom Diana already knows, and she sees in the image

'un rostro grave'(592); she keeps the portrait in exchange for one of her own, what Ramón calls 'el retrato de un ángel'(592), and the seduction process is underway. The signs are that Lisardo did not know Diana before embarking on the enterprise, and her portrait (ironically) works its magic on him. The queen assures him that the likeness is good: 'no ha sido el pincel ingrato'; Lisardo's punning reply ('ni yo al dueño)' shows that the tables have been at least partly turned: 'De burlas pensé querer, de veras la quiero ya'(593). The queen warns that if 'una hermosura pintada' can have this effect, then he should beware of 'la viva'; the warning comes too late as both trickster and his victim are now passionately in love with each other. Lisardo's portrait is then found in Diana's bed, and he is recognized from it. Her brother now realizes that Lisardo could get in the same way his portrait has:

> Roberto. Pues si en su cama he hallado
> hoy a Lisardo pintado
> mañana le hallaré vivo.(595)

His friend assures him that, as far as his honour is concerned, the difficulty will be to guard Diana from 'la verdad' and not 'la pintura'; unfortunately, the picture which started off as mere pretence is now the truth. Roberto contemplates killing the portrait: 'Pues vive Dios, que a tener sangre [...] que el retrato la vertiera'(596). Ramón then adopts a disguise to recover the portrait. Towards the end of the play, as Diana hides Lisardo in an 'oratorio' in her room, Lope toys with two conceits: 'Diana. En él/ serás esta noche imagen./ Lisardo. A lo menos, bien podré/ decir que

de amor soy mártir'(605). Lisardo has not only become an image again (once more as part of a deception) but also, mockingly, a devotional one.

Moreto later reworked the play with a whole series of modifications in No puede ser guardar una mujer (printed in 1661).[29] Two changes made by Moreto are particularly interesting to compare with Lope's earlier version. Events follow the same course, Tarugo makes to hide the portrait, Inés pretends not to know the sitter, she comments on the portrait: 'bien hecho está', while her maid, who recognizes Félix, states that 'cierto que está muy galán', and so on (fol. 7ᵛ). One intriguing difference is that in Moreto's version Félix already knows Inés and has liked her, even flirted with her, but not until he contemplates her beauty in the portrait does his love intensify. Perversely, perhaps, the portrait has achieved what the lady could not:

Félix. Y mirando en su retrato
su divina perfección,
me dejó tan satisfecho
su hermosura, que he pensado
que por él se me ha pasado
el original al pecho.(fol. 7ᵛ)

A second interesting modification made by Moreto is to have the jealous brother not merely recognize the intruder from his portrait, but compare the two:

Pedro. Y en su cuarto (¡qué desdicha!)
vi esta mañana un retrato:
y aunque sus señas afirman
que es de don Félix, le traigo
por conferir a la vista
retrato y original[,]
que cosas de tanta estima
no se han de juzgar con menos
información.[...]
Todas las señas confirman
mi sospecha y su delito.

(Mira el retrato y a don Félix con recato)

Ana. Que reparáis: ¡Lo que os mira! (Aparte a Félix) (fols 9ᵛ-10ʳ)

Both plays, besides creating enjoyable effects with traditional devices, contain a comment on the mysterious power of art to transform and intensify the appeal of its subjects, even as it produces recognizable images of them. As Tarugo, in Moreto's version, remarks when shown around the ornamental gardens: ¡Bendito sea el que hizo/ tal hermosura! ¿Es posible/ que esto pueda el artificio?'(fol. 14ᵛ).

La discordia en los casados (1611: Acad.N. II) contains a series of painting themes. Otón and Pinabelo, his son, conceive a complex plot to murder the new husband of Duchess Elena of Cleves. This involves the construction of a trompe-l'oeil archway: 'un arco insigne que en madera y lienzo/ imita la pintura al bronce y mármol,/ engañando la vista desde lejos'(130-31). Set into this will be the portraits of the various past rulers of Cleves and Frisia, where the king comes from, and in pride of place will be the portraits of Elena and her husband, King Albano. During a gun-salute ('salva') to welcome the new ruler, he will be shot with an arquebus, and nobody will suspect that his murder was deliberate. The construction is then revealed: 'descúbrase la cortina y véase una portada y encima los retratos del Rey y de la Duquesa'(132). The king is impressed, especially since the arch bears Elena's portrait: '¡Oh, hermosa arquitectura!/ Pero a tal extremo viene/ si el último cuerpo tiene/ de vuestra rara hermosura'(132). Here is a passing reference to the neo-Platonic notion of the portrait as a component in the sequence

of forms; Divine beauty is, implicitly, manifest in her rare beauty, and the portrait also provides intimations of Divine beauty. At this point the soldiers fire, and the king reacts because a bullet has shot past his face and hit his portrait: 'en su retrato paró'(133). While Otón explains away the near miss, the king fancies that he was spared because Elena served as a guardian angel:

> Rey. Llevar tal ángel al lado
> de la bala me guardó.
> Elena. Y si el que está arriba no,
> fue porque estaba pintado.(133)

When asked why he shot at the portrait, the hired assassin explains that 'de un tiro quería/ matar lo vivo y pintado'(133). As the audience would expect, the shooting of the portrait is a bad omen - the king describes it as 'tan extraños agüeros' in the third act - and the harmony is severely disrupted until the end of the play while Pinabelo and Otón undermine the king's trust in his wife's fidelity. She remains loyal to him, refusing Otón's suggestion to burn pictures of him and his family, and consoling herself with his portrait: 'deja que me engañe/ siquiera en tanto mal con su semejanza'(142). The suggested burning of the portrait echoes the earlier shooting of the portrait: superstition dictates that the royal image is so powerful that king Albano's image as well as his person must be eclipsed to clear the ground for the despised Pinabelo. At this point the play moves into the tournament mode so favoured by Tárrega, in particular. Elena dresses up in symbolically white armour and defeats the king in battle (Lope describes her motto and the livery of her horse); at the close of the play, when justice has been done,

Perol (the gracioso) is made not only the keeper (alcaide) of two towers, but also a nobleman, as a reward for his loyalty, and Lope then (typically) sends up the heraldic theme he has just employed, as he has Perol dictate for the audience's delectation the burlesque coat-of-arms he envisages for himself, which is made up exclusively of items of food and drink.[30]

Several other plays composed before 1616 illustrate Lope's powers of innovation with themes related to painting and visual images. In El negro del mejor amo (1599-1603: Acad.N. XI) a retablo of the Adoration of the Magi is 'discovered', and the black king moves a finger to answer a question from the main stage:

> Leonardo. ¿Quién será nuestra defensa?
> Voz. Del linaje y color
> dél que, en fe de su valor
> y de que ayudaros piensa,
> levanta el brazo y el dedo.
>
> (La pintura del Rey negro levante el dedo derecho)
>
> Lucinda. ¡Gran milagro! (84)

Later in the same play, the dead body of Antíobo (the black saint of the title) comes to life to defend Sardinia from the Turks. In this play the retablo is called a pintura, but it may be that some sort of tableau was envisaged or proved more expedient. Once again the efficacy of sacred images is being explored and reinforced on the stage.

El lacayo fingido (1599) introduces the topic of the 'tela maravillosa', a variation of the 'Emperor's New Clothes' theme, which anticipates Cervantes' Retablo de las maravillas.[31] Illegitimate people cannot see the cloth, which

is consequently the 'desengaño del reino todo'(72). Leonardo is the first to pretend to see the cloth, thereby safeguarding his reputation. When he sees others apparently convinced that they have seen the cloth he begins to doubt his own legitimacy. They all pay money for something they have not seen, and the comic figure of the alcaide is persuaded to wear the invisible cloth at a wedding. Finally, it is he who has the guts to deny the existence of the cloth, and accept the implications (199). Sancho, who has been controlling events, then reveals that he is no lackey but in fact...a woman; the alcaide no longer feels in a position to trust his eyes, but prefers to take her word for it. Lope is exploring the theme of illusion, and how silly people can be regarding what they see. Even when the eye is not deceived, the mind will interpret the evidence in any number of ways. Just as Cervantes' entremés (just mentioned) centres on the same themes, the Entremés de los mirones, which has been attributed to him, constitutes a kind of antidote. Here the emphasis is on extra-careful observation, since there are 'muchos hombres que pasan por lo que ven, con el mismo descuido que un caballo'.[32]

La dama boba (1613) shows Lope applying the logic of the simpleton to the portrait miniature. Finea explains how her father has talked to her about an arranged marriage, and then shown her 'un naipecito/ muy repulido y bonito' with the words 'Toma, Finea, ese es tu marido'.[33] She complains that this husband does not have a body: 'el negro del marido,/ que no tiene más de cara,/ cuera y ropilla'(77); all the men around

the house have legs, after all. Her maid, who is also a simple soul, comments on the portrait: '¡Buena cara y cuerpo! [...] ¡Ay, los ojitos que tiene!', and seems ready to share Finea's literal interpretation ('mas no pasa del jubón') with the words: 'Luego este no podrá andar'(78); previous Austral editions present this line as a question - surely a viable alternative reading. Meanwhile Finea has decided she prefers Laurencio because 'tiene piernas, tiene traza'(78), and her father's explanation of the portrait comes too late. Lope makes Finea, unwittingly no doubt, pun on the word traza: Laurencio has a sketch, and a scheme. It is he who will win her love. The simpleton versus the image is a kind of sub-genre that probably derives from the commedia dell'arte. Lope de Rueda explores its comic potential when he has a simpleton discover a mask and then be persuaded that it is a real face that has hardened after being removed from a corpse.[34] In more serious vein, Antonio de Solís shows a bobo (in a poem) addressing a portrait of Santo Domingo, and experiencing - and describing - the unquestioning faith in its efficacy: it is 'un traslado fiel' and a 'retrato que sabe decir, y hacer'; nobody will be disappointed: 'todos quedarán contentos/ logrando aquí su interés'.[35] Although the secular portrait could be ridiculed when presented to the simpleton, Catholic orthodoxy required that sacred images should be shown to have universal appeal.

Several pictorial conceits feature strongly in Lope's theatre, which are seldom, if at all, found in plays by the Valencian group. Before 1601, he explores the double meaning

of naipe to suggest that love plays cards with miniature portraits (El soldado amante and La hermosa Alfreda).[36] He is also very keen on conveying the experience of jealousy through comparison with the notion of perspective. This example is from El castigo del discreto (1598-1601):

> Casandra. ¿No has visto cuando un pintor
> forma una ciudad en lejos?
> Pues así verás mejor
> que los celos son los lejos
> de las verdades de amor.
> Es la principal figura
> amor en esta pintura
> del lienzo de mi esperanza,
> y celos lo que no alcanza
> la vista entre niebla escura.[37]

In later plays, he re-uses the conceit, as in this example from La boba para los otros, y discreta para sí (around 1630): 'Son [los celos] una pintura en lejos,/ que finge montañas altas/ lo que son rasgos pequeños'(Acad.N. XI, 494). Similarly, in La primera información (1620-25) he tells us that 'son celos en la pintura,/ edificio en perspectiva,/ que al sentido juzgar priva/ si es verdad o sombra vana,/ estando la tabla llana,/ y a los ojos fugitiva'.[38] At the heart of this conceit, a favourite of Lope's, lies the idea of the persuasive illusion presented by painting. The jealousy may be justified or unfounded; the question of scale and aerial perspective in the painting, which can normally be 'read' and correctly interpreted, becomes a source of confusion for the mind clouded by jealousy.

To sum up so far: Lope takes and develops the painting themes which the Valencian group included in their plays. He is inventive and questioning in his approach to dramatic conventions like amor por el retrato and the guaranteed

resemblance of the portrait to the sitter, which the Valencians use in a way that seems mechanical by comparison. He often evaluates the portraits in his plays, where they mostly do not. He acknowledges the creators of these and similar painted images, entering the debate concerning the status of painting. We see painters in his plays (see my Chapter 8), whereas the Valencians (except for a single mention of Juanes) show us no real painters, and restrict their occasional allusions to classical artists.[39] Like the Valencians, Lope utilizes the conventions of colour symbolism, and he indulges in descriptions of heraldic paraphernalia.[40] He employs the 'como se pinta' shorthand for sacred, allegorical and mythological figures, and conjures up symbolic images like '<u>retrato</u> del infierno', '<u>cifra</u> de dolores' and '<u>ejemplo</u> de lealtad'.[41] He shows and describes Art and Nature in competition and collaboration, as in this example from <u>La gallarda toledana</u>:

> <u>Feliciano</u>. Mira por esotra parte
> esos cuadros y vergeles,
> compitiendo en los pinceles
> Naturaleza y el Arte.(<u>Acad</u>.<u>N</u>. VI, 71)

He explores the comic potential of painting, something the Valencians never do. His range is enormous, and the effects he creates are kaleidoscopic: he borrows, he reworks and he invents. For him, the notion and the experience of painting are tied up with the nature of poetic and dramatic creativity, and with the paradox of self-conscious but, simultaneously, persuasive illusion. Painting is, after all, a studied deception, but it also reveals the truth.

Lope's prodigious rate of dramatic composition slowed down from 1620 onwards. With this in mind, and with half an eye on the limitations of space in this thesis, I shall (justifiably, I hope) restrict myself to examining only two later plays which explore painting themes. Amar sin saber a quién (1620-22) is constructed around a conceit, and develops a variation of the amar sin ver theme which Lope incorporates into plays from the 1590s onwards. Its significance, for my purposes, hinges on the way Lope uses the painting metaphor throughout the play. Early on Lope makes a deliberate point of confusing the senses of sight and hearing: 'Fernando. Oye con atentos ojos: [...] los ojos son el espejo/ que el pensamiento retratan'.[42] Intrigued by her brother's description of Juan, Leonarda sends word to him pretending to have seen and fallen in love with him. Inés, the messenger, returns with a description of Juan that Leonarda fears might be exaggerated, to which Inés retorts 'no tengo yo entendimiento/ para pintarte sus gracias'(68). While asserting that cognition must precede love, Leonarda finds herself falling for Juan; Inés' description has filled her imagination 'que es el más diestro pincel'(72). She sends her portrait to 'enamorarle', and he is enthralled; typically, Lope continues to mock the device even as he uses it, when he has Limón (the gracioso) deduce from her portrait that she must be about forty years old. Shortly afterwards Limón compares his master's mysterious beloved with her maid, who has taken his fancy and is 'una fregona palpable,/ sin retrato ni embelecos'(80). In the second act, Limón continues to undermine his master's

infatuation with 'aquella buena vieja/ que con retratos te engaña'(84). Leonarda finally sees the man she loves, and realizes that the image in her mind's eye, based on the descriptions of her maid and brother, falls short of the reality:

> Leonarda. Nunca os vi: mentí, que aquí
> os vi, puesto que os amé;
> que la fama, y la pintura
> de dos personas, han hecho
> un retrato que ha deshecho
> la libertad más segura.
> [...]
> Después que os miro y os trato,
> mejor me habéis parecido;
> como mal pintor he sido,
> que agravia con el retrato.(90-91)

Similarly, when Juan finally sees Leonarda his mental picture of her pales beside the reality, and the same simile is used:

> Juan. Pero al fin me sucedió
> como al mal pintor que copia
> de perfecto original:
> fui ignorante, copié mal:
> vos sois la pintura propia.(114)

Leonarda's imagination has gone from being a 'diestro pincel' to a 'mal pintor', and she, from being a badly-painted copy in his mind, is now the original picture. This particular line of metaphor now disappears from the play, but Lope holds on to the notion of good and bad painters, and develops it in other directions. Limón tells the tale of a patron who was not pleased to see thirteen apostles in a painting of the Last Supper that he had commissioned; he refused to pay, claiming that 'todo este lienzo está errado'(121). The painter, described as sabio pintor, has an ingenious reply: 'Llevadla, señor;/ que éste, en cenando, se irá'(121). Here the painter wittily rescues his error by asserting the lifelike quality of

his painting. Towards the close of the play Lope alludes twice to the Apelles-Campaspe story, when Juan leaves the city rather than take Leonarda from Luis, who has been courting her: 'no quise ser el pintor/ por no quitaros el bien (152-53). Luis (in imitation of Alexander) generously gives up courting Leonarda and helps Juan to marry her. Lope has woven the figures of the skilful painter, the bad painter, the wise painter and the 'best' painter into the verbal mechanics of the play.

Lo que ha de ser (1624: Acad.N. XI) is a very different play that centres on the fulfilment of a pediction, in which a picture of a lion is instrumental. Lope bases the action on one of Aesop's fables: 'The force of destiny'.[43] Since hearing a prediction that prince Alejandro will be killed by a lion, his father has kept him confined in a palace, where he pines for his thirtieth birthday, which will signal that he is free from danger. While Aesop's youth comes across the lion painted on a wall, strikes it and gets a fatal splinter under his nail, Lope's prince commissions an image of himself killing the lion:

Alejandro. Hazme luego retratar.
Llama, Teodoro, al pintor,
que ya con blasón mayor,
del león me ha de vengar.
Con un pie me ha de pintar
sobre el león ya vencido,
después que Laura ha venido;
y que, la mano en la daga,
quiero abrir sangrienta llaga
en el animal tendido.(402)

Lope seems here to have had in mind another of Aesop's fables where a man and a lion argue over a painting that shows 'cómo el hombre ahogaba al león', and where the lion proves that in

reality it has the upper hand.[44] In the play, the painting is duly brought before Alejandro and admired for the way the painter has conveyed Alejandro's intention to use his dagger on the lion: '<u>Albano</u>. ¡Qué bien el efecto hace/ de querer sacar la daga!'(405). The prince strikes the picture in a fit of temper, and is mortally wounded by two daggers he had previously had put behind where the picture is resting. Meanwhile, the prince's brother, banished to the countryside because his name was Leonardo, has been offered and has refused the chance to be the lion, and kill his brother. With his free-will ('albedrío') he can defy the stars: 'busque el cielo otro león'(400). The picture that 'comes alive', repaying Alejandro exactly for the dagger blow he had threatened it with, also has a symbolic function in the play. In wanting an image of himself taming and killing the lion, the prince is indicating that he has overcome the animal in himself; we can see that this is not true, for he is now planning to take Casandra's love by force. His attack on the painted lion proves that he is mistaken and arrogant, and the picture which was so well painted gives him his just deserts.

The last word on Lope and the pictorial should perhaps be Lope's: at the close of <u>Lo que pasa en una tarde</u> (1617) Tomé, the <u>gracioso</u>, claims responsibility for the last of a string of ruses that he has devised with the words 'yo he sido el inventor/ y el que el «Me fecit» pondré/ de aquesta pintura al pie'(<u>Acad.N</u>. II, 323). Convincing invention is equated with painting, and painting equals convincing invention. My next

chapter will examine the painting theme in some plays by Lope's contemporaries.

Chapter 6 - Notes

(1) See, for example, the list offered by Lope himself in El peregrino en su patria, in the edition by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1973), 60.

(2) Los locos de Valencia ed. José Luis Aguirre (Madrid, 1966), 142.

(3) Covarrubias: 'horadado y horadada. La cosa que está agujerada, y suélese tomar en mala parte, cuando se dice a uno horadado, porque vale bujarrón, y a la mujer la nota de no virgen por lo menos'. Alonso Contreras tells how the insult 'bujarón' (equivalent to 'sodomita') led to a fatal stabbing: see Discurso de mi vida, ed. Henry Ettinghausen (Barcelona, 1983), 17.

(4) Covarrubias explains in some detail who 'La Cava' was: 'Fue la hija del conde don Julián, por cuya causa se perdió España, como es notorio de lo que las historias así nuestras como de los árabes cuentan. Y su verdadero nombre dicen haber sido Florinda, pero los moros llamáronla Cava, que vale cerca dellos tanto como mujer mala de su cuerpo, que se da a todos'. For another reference to this woman, see Peribáñez, where Belardo conveys his great age with the words 'cuando la Cava nació/ me salió la primer[sic] muela'(lines 2350-51).

(5) Given the predominance of the painting theme in the play, it is no surprise to find one of Godofre's friends casting him as Apelles and the king as the magnanimous Alexander giving up Campaspe [ie. Alfreda] to the painter: 'Tisandro. Dijérasle tu amor, que hablando en ella/ él fuera otro Alejandro con Apeles/ y tú gozaras a Campaspe bella'(216).

(6) I have checked the text of the excerpts I quote from Acad. XV with the recent edition by Debra Collins Ames (Valparaíso University, 1995), and, except for some variations in capitalization and punctuation, the two versions tally; I have followed the options that made most sense.

(7) The Ideas of Art and Nature in the Works of Cervantes: PhD thesis, 1967, Trinity College, Dublin, 345-47.

(8) Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (New York and London, 1964) passim; this reference, 11.

(9) Lope, 'Egloga a Claudio', facsimile edition in Obras sueltas (Cieza, 1968), fol. 10^{r}.

(10) Myron A. Peyton, 'The retrato as motif and device in Lope de Vega', RN IV (1962), 52.

(11) See, for example, Pierre Duchartre, The Italian Comedy trans. R.T. Weaver (New York, 1966), 39, where several comic scenarios involving actors pretending to be statues are described.

(12) Acad.N. II, 382. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari gives a detailed list of Lope's references to contemporary painters in Los retratos de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1935), 16-25.

(13) 'Es una presunción insolente y soberbia, cuando alguno se ja[c]ta más de lo que será justo, o de virtud o de nobleza o bienes de fortuna, y el tal se llama arrogante'.

(14) I refer to the following editions: Pedro Mexía, Silva de varia lección 2 vols, ed. J. García Soriano (Madrid, 1933); Juan Huarte de San Juan, Examen de ingenios para las ciencias ed. Esteban Torre (Madrid, 1977); Vicente Carducho, Diálogos de la pintura (Madrid, 1633), fols 138^{v}-143^{r}, some of which Carducho admits (fol. 141^{v}) to copying from an Italian version of Dürer: Di Alberto Durero pittore, e geometra chiarissimo. Della simmetria dei corpi humani, libri quattro. Nuovamente tradotti dalla lingua Latina nella Italiana, da M. Gio. Paolo Gallucci Salodiano (Venice, 1591). Comparison between the text of the fifth book (fol. 128^{r} onwards) and Carducho's text reveals close similarities.

(15) A few of the many examples will illustrate the point: '[El] hombre de malas costumbres [...] el mirar fijo en los ojos de los otros cautamente, y depresto [?]'(fol. 139^{r}), 'los pusilánimos [...] el habla vehemente [...] el caminar apriesa, echándose hacia atrás cuando andan'(fol. 140^{v}), 'los desvergonzados [...] la risa alta, o con tos'(fol. 141^{r}) and 'los movimientos de los vergonzosos, y verdaderos son, la voz grave, y no muy aguda'(fol. 141^{r}). There are characteristic movements in the Italian version as well; for example, Carducho says of timid men that 'mueven los párpados apriesa'(fol. 140^{v}), where the Italian reads 'nelle palpebre un certo continuo moto'(fol. 129^{r}).

(16) 'Gentiles hombres. Los de buen talle y bien proporcionados de miembros y faciones [..] por la mayor parte los hombres principales y de noble casta se les echa de ver en el talle y en el semblante [...] Gentileza. El buen talle y gallardía'; 'Presencia. La asistencia personal [...] Algunas veces sinifica el buen talle y autoridad'.

(17) La viuda valenciana ed. José Luis Aguirre (Madrid, 1967), 47.

(18) 'Bravos edificios, grandes, soberbios, altos y sumptuosos'.

(19) José Camón Aznar, 'Citas de Arte en el teatro de Lope de Vega', RIE III (1945), 233-74; Frederick de Armas, 'Lope de Vega and Titian', Comparative Literature XXX (1978), 338-52. Compare also Luis C. Pérez and Federico Sánchez Escribano, Afirmaciones de Lope de Vega sobre preceptiva dramática (Madrid, 1961), especially Chapter VI: 'Pintura y poesía', 137-69.

(20) See Lope's defence of painting, included in Carducho's Diálogos of 1633 (fols 164^{r}-167^{r}), and reproduced by Manuel Ruiz-Lagos de Castro in 'Algunas notas de estilística pictórica para los autos sacramentales de Lope de Vega': see Temas de Lope de Vega (Granada, 1962), 50-53. See also the 'Silva de Frei Lope de Vega Carpio' which precedes the sixth of Carducho's dialogues (fols 81^{r}-82^{v}).

(21) Victor Dixon, 'The Symbolism of Peribáñez', BHS XLIII (1966) 11-24, especially 18.

(22) Mary Gaylord Randel, 'The Portrait and the Creation of Peribáñez', RF LXXXIV (1973), 145-58.

(23) The dominant colours of the play are green, red, black and white; the theme of the meadow is first introduced in Peribáñez' praise of Casilda who is more beautiful than 'el prado/ que por el mayo florece'(lines 48-49); Casilda then compares her husband to 'en verde prado/ toro bravo y rojo echado'(111-12); the colour green predominates in the wedding song, later linked explicitly with hope (131,136 and 157); Bartolo's curse on the bull includes the words 'Nunca en el abril lluvioso/ halles hierba en verde prado'(231-32); the Comendador's soliloquy includes the lines 'yo vi los verdes prados/ llamar tus plantas bellas,/ por florecer con ellas'(534-36). The combination 'verde prado' is consequently highly charged by the time the Comendador commissions the portrait. In the early 1620s Lope has another artist paint his beloved in a green meadow (see below, p. 404).

(24) Lope de Vega, Five Plays trans. Jill Booty, and edited with an introduction by R.D.F. Pring-Mill (New York, 1965), 19. Compare the more recent (and more accurate) translation by James Lloyd: 'Draw heaven there, painter, bordered round with clouds,/ And draw a field all carpeted with flowers' (Warminster: Hispanic Classics, 1990, 123); the double meaning of cielo in Lope's original can hardly be rendered:

'the heavens' is closest, but is still perhaps too rhetorical.

(25) See, for example: 'Peribáñez. Yo tengo harta alegría/ en ver que me ha dado Dios/ tan hermosa compañía' (lines 28-30); 'Cura. No hay cara como la suya'(33); 'Peribáñez. La ventura de la fea/ pasóse a Casilda hermosa'(84-85); 'Peribáñez. Llamará Casilda hermosa este mi amor lisonjero'(1193-94).

(26) See Colección de comedias sueltas de los mejores ingenios de España, hecha por I.R.C., vol. 23, part 2: BL 11728 i. 11 (21). The text is not paginated.

(27) See La Fábula de Perseo o La bella Andrómeda, ed. Michael D. McGaha, Teatro del Siglo de Oro, Ediciones críticas 6, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1985, 120. In one case, I have followed his adjustment of Medusa's line in the 1621 version: 'Si aquí le puedes agora ver'; here la makes more sense.

(28) Obras, vol. 5 (BAE 239) ed. María del Pilar Palomo (Madrid, 1971), 102. For another example of a magic mirror scene, which was probably staged in a similar way, see El rey don Sebastián by Francisco de Villegas: 'Celima. En este limpio cristal/ verás tu bien, o tu mal. (Pone el espejo)./ Sultana. Una batalla trabada/ veo, mas los lusitanos/ llevan lo mejor, ¡ay, triste!'(Parte diecinueve de comedias escogidas, Madrid, 1663, fols 67ᵛ-68ʳ).

(29) I quote from the text in Pensil de Apolo, en doce comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de España: parte catorce (Madrid, 1661), fols 1ʳ-23ᵛ. The Austral edition (Buenos Aires, 1943) differs from the 1661 text; I have made minor adjustments to the punctuation, and followed the Austral suggestion that the last line is an aparte.

(30) Elena carries 'armas blancas' and 'plumas blancas y negras', and Lope explains the remainder of her equipment: 'Rey. Las cubiertas del caballo/ negras sobre blanca tela,/ sembradas de letras de oro/ entre unas dagas y lenguas./ Las letras decían «Mentís»,/ como que de su inocencia/ daba la cubierta indicio,/ pero era maldad cubierta'(149b). Perol's coat-of-arms is conceived in four quarters: 'En el primer cuarto/ tres cantimploras de vino [etc.]'(160b).

(31) I refer to the edition of El lacayo fingido by Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Madrid, 1970). For El retablo de las maravillas see Entremeses ed. Miguel Herrero García (Madrid: CC, 1966), 157-83.

(32) In Cuatro entremeses atribuidos a Miguel de Cervantes (Barcelona, 1957), 24.

(33) See the edition by Alonso Zamora Vicente (Madrid: Austral, 1991: 1st edn, 1946), 77.

(34) See the 'paso segundo' in El deleitoso ed. J. Moreno Villa (Madrid: CC, 1958), 172-86. In the English theatre, John Redford's Wit and Science, a dramatic piece from the early 1530s, contains a comic scene where the now unrecognizable and bewildered character 'Wit' blames the fault on the mirror when he looks at his own image, so different from the portrait ('goodly pycture [...] hys own image sure') that he had earlier presented to 'Science': see Tudor Interludes, ed. P. Happé (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 181-219, especially 208-10.

(35) 'Al retrato de Santo Domingo Soriano' in Varias poesías sagradas y profanas [pub. 1692] ed. Manuela Sánchez Regueira (Madrid, 1968), 205-206.

(36) For example: 'En baraja de reyes/ no tiene figura un conde' and 'Aunque son, si juega amor,/ todos los naipes iguales'(El soldado amante, Acad.N. IX, 555-56); cf. La hermosa Alfreda, Acad.N. VI, 210.

(37) Ed. W.L. Fichter (New York, 1925), lines 192-200.

(38) Acad. IX, 608; quoted by Fichter for comparison with passage in El castigo del discreto, 209.

(39) Juanes is mentioned by Gaspar Aguilar in the loa which precedes his Vida y muerte del santo fray Luis Bertrán: 'Juanes, que en pintar al vivo/ excede a naturaleza'(PDV II, 289a). The same painter inspired a poem by Virués, 'En la muerte de Ioanes [sic] famoso pintor', which praises his 'rara mano' and suggests in a conceit that his 'divino' status will guarantee access to heaven: see Obras trágicas y líricas, Madrid, 1609, fol. 255^{r}. For mention of Apelles see Gaspar Aguilar, loa preceding El gran patriarca don Juan de Ribera (1611-16), in PDV II, 246a, and for Timantes see Aguilar, loa preceding Los amantes de Cartago (c.1600), in PDV II, 83b. Virués does not mention any classical or modern painters in his plays; however in his long poem Historia del Monserrate (pub. 1588), where he makes considerable use of ecphrasis, he describes painting as 'el arte de Apeles' and suggests that none of the classical painters (Zeuxis, Timantes, Apelles) could have portrayed the Virgin Mary (BAE XVII, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Madrid, 1945, 514a and 570a).

(40) For details of the standard colour symbolism, see H.A. Kenyon, 'Colour symbolism in early Spanish ballads' RR VI (1915), 327-40; S. Griswold Morley, 'Color symbolism in Tirso de Molina', RR VIII (1917), 77-81; W.L. Fichter, 'Color Symbolism in Lope de

Vega', RR XVIII (1927), 220-31. See also the standard article on Lope's use of heraldry: Warren T. McCready, 'Empresas in Lope de Vega's works', HR XXV (1957), 79-104, and his subsequent work, La heráldica en las obras de Lope de Vega y sus contemporáneos (Toronto, 1962).

(41) These examples from El negro del mejor amo (1599-1603: Acad.N. XI, 82a); Barlaán y Josafat (1611: ed. J.F. Montesinos, Madrid, 1935, 89); Las paces de los reyes y Judía de Toledo (1610-12?: ed. James A. Castañeda, Salamanca: Anaya, 1971, 139: line 2144).

(42) Ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Salamanca: Anaya, 1967), 46. All references are to this edition.

(43) See, for example, Fables trans. S.A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 196, where (rather strangely) the title is in Italian: 'La forza del destino'.

(44) A version from around 1550 recounts the story: 'LXXV. «Del hombre y del león. La mentira aunque sea bien compuesta, presto es vencida». El hombre y el león tomaron cuistión [sic] cuál dellos fuese mejor, y cada uno procuraba de probar su intención, y así andando llegaron a un sepulcro donde estaba pintado cómo el hombre ahogaba al león, y viendo esto el hombre mostró aquella figura para en prueba de su intención. Al cual respondió el león: «Esta obra fue pintada por el hombre, la cual si fuera pintada por algún león, tú vieras que no fuese el león ahogado del hombre, mas el hombre del león. Empero yo te quiero mostrar probanza verdadera». Y llevó al hombre al amfiteatro [sic], o lugar de combatir y pelear, y allí pel[e]ando con él por experiencia verdadera le mostró cómo el hombre es ahogado del león: diciéndole que allí no había lugar de probanza de pintura, salvo de hecho y verdadero'(La vida y fábulas del fabulador Ysopo, Antwerp, c.1550, fols 65^{v}-66^{r}. A version of the story is told by La Fontaine, Fables, third book, no. 10: 'Le lion abattu par l'homme'.

Chapter 7: The portrait and other painting themes in some plays by eleven of Lope's contemporaries.

Several problems immediately present themselves: the sheer quantity of plays written during the period, and the difficulty of establishing some kind of chronology. I propose, therefore, to offer a brief general examination of themes, and then focus on a handful of plays by a selection of dramatists where portraits and painting themes play a significant part in the action and dialogue. In most cases dates of composition, where they can be guessed, are only approximate. For example, dating plays by Claramonte, Avila and Medina is impossible, forcing the scholar to think in terms of twenty-five year boundaries. Who influenced whom is, needless to say, mere speculation in the circumstances.

The everyday use of portraits is reflected in these plays, as in those by the Valencians and Lope. We glimpse the veritable traffic of portraits in connection with arranged marriages: in some cases love and a wedding ensue, in other cases they do not.[1] In accordance with historical fact, portraits of wanted men are circulated by the authorities, and the subject is recognized.[2] The whole range of portrait types, from <u>lienzo</u> to miniature (or <u>jovel</u>, as it is called in one play) feature in the action.[3] In one play the last things a character sells are his chairs and his portraits.[4] The metaphorical application of words like <u>pintar</u> and <u>color</u> remains double-edged, while <u>retrato</u> continues to denote a literal resemblance (father and son) as well as a symbolic

likeness (for example, 'retrato de la soberbia').[5] The interaction, even overlapping, of Art and Nature is as popular as in Lope's theatre.[6] As ever, the Devil stalks his human prey with illusions and figuras, and the protection of sacred images is invoked in response.[7]

Certain plays, however, hinge on portraits and, since one gets the clearest idea of the mechanisms of the comedia from its less-gifted practitioners, La confusión de un retrato by Francisco de Medina is a good starting point. It seems to be a palace play, and the author was active in the first third of the seventeenth century.[8] It is not a great play, and in fact is rather laboured in some places; furthermore, its link with reality is extremely tenuous. It is interesting as a concatenation of clichés and conventions, where the whole rationale of the play depends on keeping secret the identity of the lady portrayed in a miniature long enough to secure her hand in marriage. Northrop Frye has said of Shakespeare's later comedies that it is precisely the highly conventionalized features which 'provide the continuity of expected and anticipated devices which drive the play along with a more strongly marked emphasis'.[9] Something of this is true in Medina's play. Carlos, the wayward son of the queen of Rhodes, has come across a portrait of the princess Clavela of Cyprus on some waste ground ('yermo'), and has fallen in love with her, despite the misgivings of his gracioso servant, Chapín. He feels driven to find the real lady:

> Carlos. Me arrastró la inclinación
> para que con todo anhelo
> de aquella copia buscase
> el original más bello.(fol. 1ᵛ)

Chapín suggests that he might be disappointed if he finds that she is ugly, but Carlos trusts in the beautiful image he has formed of her in his 'concepto'. He arrives in Cyprus just in time to rescue the now unconscious Clavela from the waves, and recognize her as the original of the portrait: 'la más soberana, y bella imagen'(fol. 4ᵛ). Chapín, predictably, does not think she is Clavela. While Carlos delivers what threatens to be a never-ending account of his person and fortunes, Clavela shows all the signs of love ('un cuidado'). He tells how he found the portrait, and how he now loves the lady portrayed, but he does not reveal that it is Clavela's portrait. She insists on seeing the image, and so he shows her a mirror, explaining that this is the best of the two portraits he has, because it is so lifelike:

Carlos. El uno no quedó bueno:
pero en el otro he mirado,
que está tan hecho a lo vivo,
y con tal primor obrado,
que en mirándole: si habláis
habéis de pensar, que hablando
está realmente con vos
el sujeto retratado.
Chapín. Y en fin, mirándolos bien,
hay entre los dos retratos
tanta diferencia, como
de lo vivo a lo pintado.(fol. 13ʳ)

Carlos implies that he loves her, but she is outraged because she thinks he is unequal to her, or as she says later 'desigual a mi calidad'. Here, at the end of the first act, he promises that 'ha de edificar mi dicha/ la confusión de un retrato'(fol. 14ʳ), and the rest of the play bears this out. A string of conventional set-pieces follows: Clavela is made jealous, Carlos complains to the portrait as she looks on, there are confused night-time meetings and bandas as love

tokens, and Chapín continues to annoy his master with 'las verdades claritas', mocking Carlos' high-sounding verbal pintura of the sleeping Clavela.[10] Half way through the third act, Chapín sums up the whole play with the lines 'Válgate el diablo, retrato,/ lo que has causado de enredos'(fol. 33ᵛ). With about five minutes to go in the action, Clavela overhears Carlos admitting that the portrait is of her. Things come to a head as Clavela has to choose a husband, and Carlos is forced to reveal his identity when ambassadors from Rhodes recognize him. Clavela chooses him, and Chapín weds her maid, 'por ser mujer de buen talle'(fol. 40ᵛ). Several hours of entertainment have been derived from the chance finding of a portrait. Although it may seem to the modern reader to be tepid entertainment, with little more than anaemic artifice, the right conclusion must be that audiences liked this sort of thing, and enjoyed guessing how the portrait would dictate, even manipulate, actions and emotions in the next scene. The play does not depend on suspense, but rather on the pleasure of fulfilled expectations: to compose a play with only one portrait (instead of several) as a source of confusion is no negligible achievement.

Andrés de Claramonte's play De lo vivo a lo pintado (which could date from anywhere between 1603 and 1631) also hinges on a single portrait.[11] It is more accomplished than Medina's play, but is still heavily dependent on formulae. The king of Naples falls in love with Lisbella, duchess of Milan, when glowing accounts of her are reinforced with her portrait, presented by count Otavio with the standard conceit: 'Sea el

pincel elocuente/ hablando aunque mudamente'(529b). Unless the text (which tallies with a seventeenth-century suelta) is faulty, the portrait shows Lisbella wearing taffeta: 'descubre un criado a Lisbella en el retrato, cubierta con un tafetán'; it was customary to wrap naipe-type miniatures in taffeta (see above, p. 306), so perhaps the text should read 'cubierto'. Later in the play, however, Lisbella has a picnic sitting on taffeta, while she is recognized from a distance because of her clothes: 'los mismos vestidos son/ de la copia celestial'(533b); either reading is therefore possible. The image Claramonte envisaged was a lienzo, and it is hung over a door by the infatuated king. He expresses his amazement at the image in standard conceits, where painting and reality are confused:

> Rey. No creo
> que es copia la que veo;
> ángel es animado,
> o el mismo original de que es traslado;
> tanto mueve y admira,
> que hace que se confunda la mentira.
> No pudo esta belleza
> formar naturaleza,
> sin dalle parte el cielo.(529b-c)

Returning from an unsuccessful mission to arrange a wife for the king, his brother (the Infante) is also smitten by Lisbella's portrait, which he describes as 'una copia de la más rara belleza'(530c). He develops the idea, which became a commonplace in Calderón's theatre, that her beauty in the image has triumphed in competition with Nature. His gracioso servant performs the standard function of undermining both his infatuation and the lofty style in which he expresses it; as far as he is concerned, the portrait is just 'una pintura

muerta'(531a). Throughout the play Claramonte plays with the verbal pairings of vivo/pintado, vivo/muerto, sombra/luz and the words muda and alma. The Infante complains to the portrait when he finds out that the king loves her too; the image has deceived him: 'matáis siendo pintada'(532a). He is sent to Milan to secure Lisbella for the king, but takes the opportunity to court her himself. The power of her portrait compels him: 'si el retrato hermoso/ es tan fuerte y poderoso,/ ¿qué será el original?'(533b).

Claramonte now introduces the new idea into the play that portraits can flatter the sitter. The Infante pretends to be the ambassador of Charles of Valois, listing the French king's many virtues. Sensing that Lisbella is rather too impressed with what she is hearing about Charles, the Infante then persuades his servant to denigrate Charles while he pretends to praise him, hoping that this will undermine Lisbella's interest (535b). In the feigned argument with the gracioso, the Infante offers to produce a portrait of Charles: 'haré que la copia traigan/ para que en vello te admires'(535c). Lisbella reacts by stating that portraits can flatter ('los pinceles se adelantan'), and this provides the Infante with his cue to describe the events surrounding his own infatuation, where the image paled beside the lady's beauty. Tired of waiting, the king goes in disguise to Milan, and reaches the same conclusion as his brother: 'que hay mucha ventaja, Conde,/ de su hermosura al traslado'(542c). At the close of the play, the king offers his brother incentives to give Lisbella up, which include Elvira, the sister of the king

of Castile; he produces a portrait of her, offering the Infante the 'alma de aqueste retrato'(546c). But the Infante prefers the 'vivo' to the 'pintado', and the king gives way realizing he would have done the same thing as his brother in the same situation. Like Medina's play, this one is set in cloud-cuckoo-land, but the sequence of events is much more feasible. As a successful actor and leader of an acting group, Claramonte would have known what his audiences liked, and which conventional devices and set-pieces were guaranteed winners. What might seem at this distance to be a rather tired dependancy on the portrait motif was evidently the stuff that appealing drama was made of.

By comparison with the last two plays discussed, El Bastardo de Ceuta (pub. 1615: BAE XLIII) by Juan Grajales has an epic grandeur. Amidst an array of proven ingredients, he bombards the audience with a series of painting motifs. He is not a great stylist, but he spins a good yarn. The loa which was printed with the play, and which one could assume was designed or used to precede it, invites the audience to sit back and enjoy some of their favourite devices, including 'drag':

> Fingiendo a veces un moro,
> otras un galán de corte;
> sale, por daros contento,
> de mujer vestido un hombre,
> ya con mil apariencias,
> para que el mundo se asombre,
> salen tigres y caballos,
> monos, camellos, leones.(411c)

The play that follows does not incorporate most of what is promised here, and Grajales does not invent any new devices. What he does provide is an improbable story, which is underpinned by a rigorous symmetry, and which links one

established set-piece to another as it moves towards the expected dénouement of reconciliation. Some account of the plot is needed: the play features two women, one Christian and the other Moorish, with the same guilty secret: they were both seduced or tricked into an illicit sexual liaison, and produced sons who have now reached manhood. Coincidentally, their fates are linked, for the father of one child is the husband of the other woman. While a captive among the Moors, Captain Meléndez seduced Fátima and fathered Celín, while Gómez cuckholded him and his wife Elena gave birth to Rodrigo. The situation is further complicated by the friendship of Meléndez and Gómez, and the stage is set for the inevitable unmasking of these hidden facts. Elena is racked by guilt, and Grajales introduces some standard devices to illustrate its intensity: she confesses in her sleep, has a dire (but in the end, unfulfilled) premonition of death, and describes to her uncomprehending daughter the vivid nature of the images in her dreams:

> Elena. Las cosas contra la honra,
> para los que della sienten,
> aun soñadas atormentan,
> por lo mucho que se temen;
> que las obras del amor
> son las pinturas de Apeles,
> donde los pájaros pican,
> por lo que de vivas tienen.(413c)

There is no originality in the Apelles story, which was common currency at the time; the invention here is to do with the use of the cliché. Elena's daughter thinks it was just a dream, whereas we and Elena know that it actually happened, so that the images in her dream are indeed 'vivas'. Elena then uses a portrait simile to express her mixed feelings towards her

illegitimate son; joy because he is her son, sorrow because Gómez is his father:

> **Elena**. Cuando un ángel me parece,
> cuando un monstruo generoso,
> como el cuadro ingenioso
> cada momento acontece,
> que ya retrata una dama
> y ya retrata una muerte.(415a)

Grajales clearly expects his audience to recognize this allusion to some kind of trick image, of the sort which were (and still are) popular. These came in different forms: Holbein's painting of 'The Ambassadors' is the best known anamorphic image, which reveals a skull when viewed from a certain angle; other images which had to be turned through 180 degrees for the living to become the dead were plentiful; there may have existed the two-images-in-one type of picture, of which modern examples exist.[12] The themes conveyed in Grajales' subtext are the memento mori (Elena as dama, and Elena as the dead body she fears she will become), and the power of art and its capacity to deceive the eye and show the truth, its ingenuity ('cuadro ingenioso'); here the Apelles story is reinforced.

Grajales then prepares the ground for another established, winning combination: the 'retrato' and 'celos'. He will need a portrait and a letter to accompany it, and the two will then become separated, leading to a misunderstanding that can serve a higher purpose. Juana, despite the fact that Rodrigo toys with her feelings, wants to take a portrait of him with her to Lisbon: he is 'ingrato', but she wants his 'retrato': this, like 'Apeles' and 'pinceles', is a favourite rhyme in the Siglo de Oro. The scene changes to the Moorish camp at

Tetuán, and we find that Fátima (Elena's counterpart) has sent for a painter to produce a series of narrative pictures which will illustrate the story of her seduction by Elena's husband. Like his counterpart Rodrigo, her son Celín does not understand why her mother dwells on these images. She tells us, in what must be an aside, that she wants the images 'para tener qué llorar;/ que obra más lo que se ve'(417). So the symmetry, an effect clearly sought by Grajales, is complete: two women with guilty secrets, one haunted by lifelike images comparable to the paintings of Apelles, the other commissioning images of her misfortune to lament, confess or come to terms with her guilt. It is no surprise to find Apelles mentioned again; indeed, the audience, sensing the symmetry at work, would have been half-expecting it:

Celín. Aquí, madre, está el pintor.
Pintor. Aquí a tu mandado vengo.
Fátima. Gran noticia de ti tengo.
Pintor. Más grande es ese favor.
Celín. No imitó naturaleza
tanto Apeles como él,
imitando su pincel
la divina sutileza.
Pues si Apeles retrató
tan semejante el racimo
de uvas maduras, y opimo,
que el pájaro se engañó,
él retrató de manera
de Apeles mano y pinceles,
que engañara al mismo Apeles,
si viviera y si los viera.
Pintor. No más, valiente Celín;
basta el honor que me das.
Celín. Mucho he dicho, y diré más.
Pintor. Eres caballero al fin.(417b)

In five lines the painter conveys respect and embarrassment, while Celín's eulogy is a deliberate echo of the Apelles-and-grapes theme of Elena's vivid dreams. This time, the painter, who is by implication 'sutil' (since he can imitate 'la divina

sutileza'), is said to go one better, and deceive Apelles the deceiver.[13] Fátima explains to her son that the images are to decorate a new room: 'adornarle con lienzos de historias graves'(417c), and the audience, with the benefit of background knowledge, were presumably meant to read a double meaning into the adjective 'grave' at this point. The painter is instructed to 'pintar un capitán cristiano, bravo y galán', that is Captain Meléndez who seduced her. Grajales immediately echoes this idea when Celín discovers that the man he rescues on the battlefield is the famous Captain, whom he knows by reputation: 'grande soldado te pinta [la fama]'(419a). We are still in the first act, and it is no exaggeration to say that the theme of painting has been, and continues to be, central to the progress of the play.

The second act shows, among other painting themes, the letter being written to accompany the portrait. It is standard stuff: the image shows a happy subject because it goes with Juana, leaving Rodrigo behind with his sadness, etc. Then suddenly the portrait and letter are not needed any more as Juana has married, and so another image is wrapped in the letter, and this will provoke mild amusement for the audience because it is 'un retrato de un san Salvador, pequeño'(422a). Petronila, Elena's daughter and Celín's beloved, is very religious, and keeps this package under her pillow; Grajales has set up the components for more set-pieces, and ensures that he gets plenty of mileage out of this situation. He starts with a potentially comic episode, where the gracioso wonders why the image is so small:

Brito. Mas ¿cómo, señora, siendo
su divino original
del mismo Cristo igual,
como por la razón lo entiendo,
es tan pequeño el traslado? (422a)

In response, Petronila embarks on an elementary explanation of painting:

Eso es lo misterioso,
lo sutil y milagroso,
amigo, de lo pintado.
Del arte de la pintura,
pintar y recopilar
en muy pequeño lugar
una muy grande figura
de modo que cotejada
esta pequeña y menor,
con la misma, y aun mayor,
en otro lienzo sacada,
parezcan ambas iguales.(422a)

Painting is mysterious, subtle and miraculous: the Apelles stories have already made this point. So why tell the audience? The answer must be: because it was something people were talking about, and therefore of interest; Lope included passages like this in more than a few of his plays, and he had the intuition of a genius. Grajales shows some of Lope's instinctive self-parody when, as Petronila pauses for breath, the gracioso adds what sounds like a snatch of expert jargon, which is served up here to get an extra laugh: 'Eso, mi señora, estriba/ en la buena perspectiva/ y en ser los pinceles tales'. Someone with a simpleton's knowledge of painting is suddenly speaking like a seasoned theorist, with a straight face (no doubt) to maximize the comic effect. Brito continues in the same vein, employing the recognized jargon in order to evaluate the painter's skill: 'Por Dios, que es pincel divino,/ es famoso, es peregrino'(422a); the

play on the word 'divino' would not have gone unnoticed by Grajales' audience.

But the plot must move on, and the fact that the colour is 'reciente' justifies the wrapping of the image in the letter that was not meant for it: another 'maraña' to be disentangled, as Celín, who has fallen for Petronila, is lodged in her room full of holy images: 'el relicario/ de aquella hermosa cristiana' (424c). Grajales then implies that the paintings which Petronila loves ('cuadros que la enamoráis') have lost their souls to her: 'que por esa causa estáis/ sin alma, y no por pintura'(424c). Celín duly finds and examines the portrait of Christ: 'al olio pintado está', but it throws him into a jealous passion: 'no hay color en él alguna/ que no sea azul para mí'(425a). Once he has read Rodrigo's message (accompanying the original portrait) to the audience, the image is suddenly synonymous with death in his mind: 'Suceso terrible y fuerte/ ¡qué retrato de la muerte,/ a la cabecera puesto!'(425a). Here is an allusion to the trick 'dama-muerte' image of the first act. A closer look at the portrait persuades him that this is not just another man, but a perfect man; he embarks on a poetic pintura of Christ's features, which refers to his 'vista grave' and perfect 'proporción'. When Celín takes the image with him ('No has de gozar el retrato,/ bástate el original': 425b), the audience would have known that conversion to the faith was virtually a certainty. The image then saves Celín in battle by attracting all the sword points to it, so that Christ is wounded both literally and symbolically for him (427c); the colours in the

portrait give 'color' to his mother's desire to convert to Christianity, and bloodletting is avoided as the secrets of the past are revealed.[14] Grajales' exploitation of painting themes is extensive: indeed, without them the play would not hold together. He does not match the best of Lope or Tirso, but he skilfully guides his audience through the action with a series of tried and tested effects.

Cervantes inherits and develops established pictorial themes in his plays. Just as the 'novela' La fuerza de la sangre shows him incorporating the 'monster-portrait' theme (explored by Lope in La hermosa Alfreda), his Comedia de la Entretenida (pub. 1615) hinges on an arranged marriage, involving a portrait of the lady, which Antonio is anxious to thwart, by pretending to be the official suitor himself. Meanwhile his rival, don Silvestre, is not sure that he can trust the accuracy of the portrait ('si no llega al retrato su hermosura'), but his servant sees no problem in avoiding the marriage if the lady falls short of her portrait.[15] Before long he has the chance to compare image and sitter: 'Esta es Marcela, mi prima,/ y el retrato le parece'(97); he then unmasks the impostor, Antonio, whose servant uses the 'sacred portrait' conceit (as explored, for example, by Guillén de Castro) in a last-ditch attempt to save the day.[16] This play, which is pretty standard fare, does little more than recycle a couple of pictorial themes; in his Entremés del viejo celoso Cervantes digs far deeper.

The plot is well-known and need not be retold; the most interesting feature, for my purposes, is the pictorial ruse at

the centre of the action. Cervantes, deliberately it seems, prepares the ground by introducing words associated with visual illusion: Ortigosa refers to her 'trazas' (meaning 'designs' in more than one sense); Lorenza tells how Cañizares decided against a tapestry 'por ser de <u>figuras</u>'; the old man haunts the house at night 'como un trasgo'; Ortigosa undertakes to bring Cristina a 'frailecico' with the words 'Yo se lo traeré a la niña <u>pintado</u> (ie. 'made to order', or in Edward Honig's translation: 'as sweet as a picture': 146), and Cristina immediately puns on the word: '¡Que no le quiero pintado, sino vivo, vivo!'; Cristina says that she will explain away the intruder as a 'duende'.[17] Having established this thematic background of illusion, artistry and reality, Cervantes then introduces Ortigosa bringing her 'guadamecí' (Honig translates this as 'an embossed sheepskin wall hanging': 150) with four characters from Ariosto's <u>Orlando furioso</u> 'pintados' on it, one of whom is portrayed with his face cloaked in disguise: 'y Rodamonte venga pintado como arrebozado'(232). Assuring the old man that 'la obra es buena', Ortigosa encourages his young wife to lift the 'guadamecí' so that the old man can see that 'las pinturas de los cuadros parece que están vivas'(233). The old man may state that he is an enemy of 'aquestas pinturas' and 'figuras rebozadas'(234), but the mysterious 'galán' has already entered the house behind the lifted 'guadamecí', most probably muffled ('arrebozado') as Rodamonte was seen to be. In this way the image shows the old man the reality of what is happening; the painted illusion (<u>pintado</u>) and truth (<u>vivo</u>)

coincide, and fuse together. Ortigosa has deceived Cañizares with the truth: 'engañar con la verdad'. From behind a closed door, Lorenza now continues this process by comparing the face of the young man attending to her as 'como la de un ángel pintado', while the contact between the two of them is 'veras, y tan veras' and not the 'burlas' that Cañizares thinks (238). The borderline between deceptive illusion and distinguishable reality has been deliberately blurred, just as it is in the Quijote and in El retablo de las maravillas, where the worthy folk engaged in 'seeing' invisible figuras (to safeguard their reputations) ascribe the very real thirty armed men requiring lodgings, reported by the quartermaster, to the 'sabio Tontonelo' responsible for the 'retablo': illusion has the potential to swallow up the real. In this context, the relationship between painting and truth is, for Cervantes as for Lope, an ambiguous area to be explored with insight and relish.

Gaspar de Avila's play El valeroso español y primero de su casa, which probably dates from the 1620s or 1630s, contains some important pictorial themes.[18] The action centres on Hernán Cortés and the reception he receives at the Spanish court, which is at first guarded, even cool, while some groundless allegations made against him are investigated. Philip II, despite championing the cause of Cortés, emerges as an impartial and prudent judge in the investigation; he is also represented as a lover of the arts, especially painting. The action proper begins near the location of the 'Imagen de la Virgen de Sanlúcar', where we see a Venetian sailor come to

thank the Virgin for saving him in a storm ('puse la esperanza/ en esta imagen, que alcanza/ tanto con Dios': 565c). After a lengthy build-up, Cortés finally enters and impresses everyone with his measured words, stealing the heart of Juana de Zúñiga in the process. Her help is then sought by a Venetian and a French captain to arrange for a portrait of Cortés to be painted. His fame has caused this demand for his image. Unfortunately, the two captains cannot agree on who should have the first portrait, and who the copy:

> Capitán francés. Mi demanda fue primera;
> siempre se han de regular
> por las causas el hacerlas;
> y ansí, he de llevar a Francia
> el que estuviere más cerca
> del original primero,
> sin que dos pinceles mientan,
> y puedes copiar del mío
> el tuyo.(567b)

Painting, at least for the purposes of this conceit, is here presented as a kind of distortion. Avila appears to echo this idea when he has Juana refer to a feigned pretext in terms of color: 'Y porque lleve este intento/ color de agradecimiento' (568c). When the portrait is completed, however, it is praised for its likeness: 'Montejo. Es un retrato sacado/ de su estampa verdadera./ Duque de Béjar. Sin lengua dice quién es'(569a). The duke thinks he should have the picture, while Juana has designs on it herself, and it changes hands several times, causing Montejo to remark that 'sin pies el retrato está/ y anda de aquí para allí'(569a). The suggestion that it talks without a tongue is mockingly countered here by the observation that it walks without legs.

In the second act Cortés obliges when asked to recount his

exploits for the Infanta's benefit. He tells how he saw in a dream a vision of his life's 'apostolic' mission:

> Cortés. Y si a imágenes confusas
> se debe crédito humano,
> en los lejos de mi idea,
> de mis hechos vi un retrato.(572c)

This is a specific reference to painting, perspective and the artistic idea, and is surely meant to allude to the dominant theme of portraiture, which surfaces again at the close of the second act, when Leonor tells the gracioso Osorio to dress up for a baptism. He will not disappoint her:

> Osorio. Seré oncena maravilla,
> con un coleto ambarino,
> y verásme, si me pintas
> unas calzas laberintas,
> [etc.]
> Será conmigo bosquejo
> el sol, si es que salgo ansí.(575b-c)

Leonor is invited here to imagine or 'paint' him in her mind, and he will make the sun look like a sketch by comparison with the finished portrait he will be.

In the third act the arrival of some pictures is announced, a gift from the king of France, to which Philip comments: 'muy bien sabía mi inclinación'(578a). We see the art-loving prince torn between his eagerness to see the pictures, and his duty to investigate the accusations made against Cortés; Avila dramatizes this conflict well:

> Criado. ¿Viene vuestra alteza a ver
> las pinturas?
> Príncipe. ¿Qué haremos?
> Ruy. Después de resolver
> esta causa, las veremos.
> Príncipe. Sólo pueden detener
> causas que tan justas son
> mi resuelta inclinación.
> ¿Hay retratos?

Criado. Y se infama
con los nueve de la Fama
de Timantes la opinión.
Príncipe. En la primer[sic] galería
de mi cuarto los poned.(578c-579a)

Prince Philip's 'resuelta inclinación' towards painting ties up with Avila's marked insistence on the theme of portraiture. Once the allegations against Cortés have been dismissed, Philip returns to his pictures. The servant brings in a portrait that was left over, and the sitter is identified as Cortés; the image is also evaluated: 'Ruy. Excelente es el pincel./ Príncipe. Extremado.'(579b). Here we see connoisseurs looking beyond the likeness to appreciate the skilled brushwork of the artist. Philip assumes that the French king has made Cortés number ten after 'los nueve de la fama'. It is not long before Philip makes a public announcement of Cortés' innocence of the charges against him, and ten canvases are revealed, including his portrait. Cortés now deserves to be 'el décimo de la fama', and is rewarded with a title and Juana de Zúñiga as his wife. The notion of portraiture informs the whole play: the Virgin's image, the portrait of Cortés, the two 'portraits' in the mind, Philip's predilection for portraits, the appreciation of good portraiture, the portrait gallery at the climax of the play, which constitutes a kind of apotheosis for Cortés.

The next two plays to consider are Galán, valiente y discreto by Mira de Amescua (performed in June, 1632, and published in 1636) and Galán, tramposo y pobre by Salas Barbadillo (pub. 1635).[19] Whether the one, probably the second, was in some way a response to the other is uncertain;

apart from their titles, they are completely different plays. Each one, however, makes substantial use of the portrait theme. The first act of Mira's play depends on references to portraiture without the inclusion of a single, tangible image. Serafina, the new duchess of Mantua, does not relish the prospect of marriage, and so instructs Portia, a lady-in-waiting, to swap roles with her. This will enable her to examine the various suitors and choose wisely. The dukes of Urbino, Ferrara and Parma have been drawn to Mantua by accounts of Serafina's considerable beauty, and her wealth. They have not seen her, but they are sure the reality of her beauty will surpass what they have heard: 'Urbino. Las cosas grandes no pueden/ ser pintadas como son'(BAE XLV, 24). There is a fourth suitor, don Fadrique, who is a destitute Spanish nobleman, related to the king of Aragón. His rivals are convinced he must have seen a portrait of Serafina, but he disillusions them on that score:

Parma. ¿Quién dudará que le obligan
venir a Mantua retratos
de la hermosa Serafina?
Fadrique. Bien puede dudarlo el Duque,
porque no tengo noticia
que haya retrato ninguno
de beldad tan exquisita.
Y si dicen que a Alejandro
retratarle no podía
sino Apeles, ¿qué pincel
a los perfiles y líneas
desta deidad se atreviera,
sin temblar en la osadía,
la mano al lienzo arrimada,
y sin turbarse la vista
a los rayos de sus ojos.(25)

Her beauty defies the painter and his art, because it is consists of opposites (sunrays and snow) in a delicate, harmonious balance:

Siendo esto así, ¿quién podría
retratar rayos de luz,
mirando nieve tan viva?
¿Quién un objeto tan alto
reducir pudo a medida
y proporción con el arte,
copiando luz tan divina? (25)

The daring of the painter, his disturbed reaction ('turbarse'), harmony beyond the grasp of painting: these are poetic commonplaces of the period. They were also quite clearly rhetorical patterns of thought that theatre audiences could savour.

Mira now goes on to develop a popular variation of the portrait theme: in the case of Serafina, painting could not match divine beauty, but Nature can portray it in the ducal gardens: '<u>Duquesa</u>. Este jardín ameno,/ de flores, plantas y frutas lleno,/ el cielo nos <u>retrata</u>'(26); invited to the gardens, Serafina's suitors take up the theme, still imagining what she must be like:

<u>Urbino</u>. Bello jardín, tu belleza,
aunque irracional y muda,
<u>remedando</u> está sin duda
la hermosura de su alteza;
que al pintar naturaleza
sus divinos resplandores,
la tabla de los colores
y pinceles arrojó,
y con esto derramó
nieve y jazmín sobre las flores.
[...]
<u>Ferrara</u>. Cristal, que un mármol pequeño
Estás siempre <u>retratando</u>.(26)

Fadrique follows the pattern as well: the flowers and fountains are 'rasgos y señales de los rayos celestiales de vuestro dueño'(26). No portrait has appeared, and none will, but the notion of portraiture has dominated the imagery of the entire first act. From this point onwards the play

deteriorates slightly, and the portrait theme vanishes. To check that Fadrique is valiant, Serafina arranges some jousting, and the audience are given a list of heraldic devices ('empresas') to visualize, together with various mottoes, and later on, a parodic version of the same thing (34-37).

Lope, the protagonist of Galán, tramposo y pobre, by Salas Barbadillo, is a confidence trickster who uses his wits ('arte' and 'artificio') to sponge off various members of the aristocracy. He is amusingly clever, but can be malicious when turned down by the ladies he courts, resorting to 'aun los viles medios' and undoing their reputations with spiteful rumours. One of his victims was Leonor in Seville, and her brother, Fernando, has come looking for revenge. He shows Rodrigo her portrait, as proof of her beauty:

> Fernando. Este retrato os dirá
> si es que igualalla podrá
> cuanto ilustra el firmamento.
> Y alabaréis igualmente
> con espíritu elegante
> tanto de bello el semblante
> cuanto al pincel de valiente.
> Rodrigo. Llegalde a la vecindad
> de esta luz, rara belleza,
> en quien la naturaleza
> juntó gracia y majestad.(BAE XLV, 275b)

Here the painter deserves and receives some credit for the quality of the portrait, which conveys more than the beauty of the sitter. Rodrigo wants to borrow the portrait overnight to compare it with another one he has, also of a Sevillian beauty. Fernando agrees, punning on the word 'tabla' as he warns that his sister's portrait might burn the other one with its 'resplandores'(275b). The audience might have guessed at

this stage that the two images are of the same woman, but confirmation does not come until the second act. There we learn that Rodrigo had tried to buy the original portrait that Fernando has, and that his is a faithful copy of that one. Fernando is lost in admiration for the painter: 'la mano del sutil pintor venero/ que pudo, siendo fiel, ser lisonjero'(277c). The painter has shown Leonor in her best light, but the image is still recognizably of her. Fernando, however, cannot help feeling offended that the painter's unauthorized copy, which constitutes a kind of theft ('bello robo de su rostro'), should have been sold to a man whom Leonor (who is due to be married) does not know. Fernando keeps the second portrait of his sister, and its loss has Rodrigo (like Fernando) punning on the word 'tabla', but this time to express the loss of the portrait/ his plank in the heavy seas of life ('anegaréme sin tabla': 283a). Fernando then finds out that Rodrigo is the cousin that his sister is due to marry, and happily gives him both portraits. Rodrigo expresses his joy to the two images, in a speech which hinges on the lifelike quality achieved by the painter:

> Rodrigo. ¡Oh vosotros, del sol copias más bellas,
> [...]!
> ¿Cómo pudo el pincel copiar centellas,
> mentir acciones y fingir ardores?
> Suprema fue de el [sic] arte valentía
> en fe de la verdad que aquí mentía.
> Retratos de Leonor os miro, y tales,
> que, viendo perfeción tan ingeniosa,
> os juzgo ser, como ella, originales,
> viva verdad, no sombra mentirosa;
> porque su luz, que en rayos inmortales
> suave nace, y crece prodigiosa,
> os ha tan igualmente conmutado,
> que sois conmutación, y no traslado.
> (283c-284a)

He continues in this vein until Fernando brings him back to reality: 'que no es bien dar a sombras, aunque fieles,/ lo que se debe a la belleza viva'(284a). This particular strand of the plot ends here, and we see Lope exposed as a fraud ('mi fábrica dio en el suelo': 287c), and forced into an unappealing marriage.

The anonymous play Ya anda la de Mazagatos, which has been attributed to Lope, but which is certainly not by him in its existing form, exploits the confusion arising from the presence of two female characters called Elvira, one a noble lady, the other a country girl.[20] In the course of the play the wrong Elvira gets painted by mistake; some account of the complicated plot is indispensable here. Doña Elvira's family disapprove of her courtship with Manrique, and to forestall any more night-time meetings, they decide to lock her up in a convent. She escapes to the village of Mazagatos, and disguises herself as a 'villana', adopting the name Inés. Manrique, coincidentally, falls from his horse in Mazagatos, which is near territory under his control. As he recovers he is stunned by the beauty of Elvira, a genuine 'villana', who is about to be married to Pascual. Showing no commitment to doña Elvira, he resolves to return and carry this Elvira off. There is a further coincidence as the threat of bad weather obliges the king, who has been out hunting, to take refuge in Mazagatos. He, too, is very impressed with Elvira, the 'villana', and pays her compliments just as Manrique had done. Later the king commands Gutierre, one of his courtiers, to paint him a portrait of the 'villana' Elvira:

Rey. Y pues tú, Gutierre, has sido
en el arte nuevo Apeles
de la pintura, un retrato
has de hacer.
[...]
Esa aldea es Mazagatos
[..]
y en ella
por hija un villano tiene
a un ángel. Llámase Elvira,
y en sus labios los claveles
la primavera copió
para coronar su frente.
Esta me has de retratar.
Gutierre. Luego voy por los pinceles
y colores, y te ofrezco
a hacer un cuadro elocuente
de este monte y desta casa,
y como yo la bosqueje
aire y medidas del rostro
me bastará.
Rey. De ella aprende
beldad la naturaleza.(1023-45)

The author has established a parallel between Gutierre as painter of Elvira, and Spring as copyist of her beauty as well. The last few lines are unclear; Gutierre seems to be suggesting that if he can capture her 'aire' (a term that seems to have covered both likeness and grace, and perhaps even mood), this with a few measurements will be enough to portray her in her natural surroundings.[21] When Gutierre gets to the village to paint the Elvira he has never seen, the confusion is complete as he is led to the wrong Elvira, who is only too happy to be painted when, to conceal the king's role in the commission, he confirms her guess that her beloved Manrique wants her portrait. He summons up all the destreza and valentía in his brush, and leads her to a better-lit spot to begin the painting (1359-97). In two of the three manuscripts of the play, we then see Gutierre with the finished portrait ('pues ya concluí el retrato/ a impulsos de

mi destreza'), on his way to deliver it to the king (59: note 3). Members of doña Elvira's family have just finished petitioning the king to bring her supposed abductor to justice when Gutierre gives them a preview of the portrait (which he is pleased with) of a woman he says that the king loves:

> Gutierre. Deseo
> que veáis la valentía
> del pincel y atrevimientos
> del arte, competidora
> de naturaleza.(1956-60)

They recognize their doña Elvira, and do not know what to think next, while Gutierre goes on congratulating himself: 'Mirad alegre este rostro,/ tan apacible y atento/ que parece que nos oye/ y nos responde risueño'(1971-74). The double joke here is that the unmistakable likeness of the image is provoking such contrasting and yet simultaneous responses, and (furthermore) that the subject is smiling at what her family consider a dishonourable state of affairs. The humour continues as Gutierre proudly displays his artwork to the king, provoking his anger for painting the wrong woman, while at the same time offering considerable relief to doña Elvira's family, who (even though their dishonour is still unavenged) infer immediately that it is not their Elvira who is the object of the king's love, and that it is not he who has dishonoured them:

> Gutierre. Señor,
> ya trasladé el rostro bello
> de la hermosa labradora
> que vive en tu pensamiento.
> [...]
> Mira
> si a su semejanza puedo
> haber mejor trasladado
> la perfección. (Dale el retrato)

> Rey. Quita, necio,
> que no es ésta la que dije.
> [...]
> Toma el retrato, y atento
> mañana te enseñaré
> la luz de aquese bosquejo.(2036-51)

Circumstances, and his own self-satisfaction, have conspired to make Gutierre the skilful painter a figure of fun; the accuracy of his portrait is at the centre of the joke. There is later an oblique allusion to the Prometheus theme, already hinted at in Gutierre's suggestion that his portrait seems to be alive; when Manrique, half-disguised as a Moor, attempts to abduct Elvira the 'villana' on the day of her wedding, she states that she will be as hard as a diamond in resisting his advances; he retorts that he will be the chisel ('buril') that will work on her: 'que te labrará a ternezas'(2298-99); he will sculpt her to his own liking. Manrique is finally pardoned, and gets his doña Elvira, while the king learns to stifle his infatuation with the other Elvira. The theme of persuasive and lifelike artistry underpins the intrigue in this play.

Ser prudente y ser sufrido has been attributed, rather unsurely, to Juan Pérez de Montalbán, and is virtually impossible to date; the early 1620s has been suggested.[22] The play develops the privado theme, and in one episode the king commissions a portrait of himself to test the reaction of four candidates for the coveted post. The painter is presented as a loyal and discreet servant of the crown, willing to stake his life on his capacity to keep a secret. The king explains the commission:

Rey. Oíd: en el corredor
de palacio, en que ponéis
las pinturas, en que hacéis
ostentación del primor
de vuestro pincel, conviene,
para un intento importante,
que pongáis de aquí adelante,
hasta que otra cosa ordene,
una sola, y ha de ser
de mi retrato.(571)

The king gives precise instructions as to where the portrait is to be placed, and some words that constitute a kind of motto which the painter is to include on the portrait. At the close of the first act, the portrait is revealed, and the king eavesdrops on the reactions it will provoke. This, he says, was a tactic employed by a prudent king of Greece. The aspiring privados display a cynical response, concluding that 'del pintor/ sin duda debe de ser/ lisonja'(575). They also mock the motto, which they conclude that the painter ('el pintorcillo') has invented, and imply that he should leave writing to those with 'ingenio' (which he lacks), and use his hands for painting (576). The king sees enough to reach the conclusion that 'todos estos poco amor/ y mucha pasión arguyen,/ pues mi alabanza atribuyen/ a lisonja del pintor'(575). Fernando, passing by chance, reacts in the appropriate manner when he sees the portrait, removing his hat as a show of respect. He responds to his servant's surprise at his actions, and then to the one remaining candidate's criticism of his idolatry (of the kind usually reserved for saints):

Fernando. ¿Admírate por exceso
la veneración que ves?
Este retrato ¿no envía
rayos del original,
que es acá en lo temporal

vice-Dios?
[...]
Si se pone en la cabeza
una firma, que señala
el nombre sólo del Rey,
venerar esta pintura,
que su persona figura,
¿no será más justa ley?
[...]
Pues ¿por qué su original
no respetaré en la sombra?(575-76)

Mendo, his critic, is so disparaging about him and the king that Fernando reprimands him, whereupon Mendo draws his sword. Fernando will not fight there, because the place is sacred, but offers to satisfy Mendo elsewhere (576). This scene and others like it persuade the king to appoint Fernando as his privado. The portrait episode serves one of the main themes of the play, as well as reiterating the convention of the power inherent in the image of the monarch - a feature of iconic verse and many plays (for example, Tirso's La prudencia en la mujer).[23] As in most plays with a central portrait theme, there are echoes of that theme elsewhere in this play as well. Beltrán the gracioso amuses the king with some suggestions for improving the running of the country ('para enmienda de este siglo'); among these is the withdrawal of religious images from public places. Beltrán himself points up the link with the portrait of the king:

Beltrán. Pues el primero de todos
ha de ser a lo divino,
que a ti más que a nadie toca,
por cristiano, y porque he visto
que la elección que has hecho
en mi amo, fue el motivo
primero ver el decoro
y respeto con que hizo
reverencia a tu retrato.
Y así, en consecuencia, digo
que no es justo que se pongan
en las calles y caminos

cruces ni imágenes santas;
que, demás de que el más fino
católico, si acostumbra
a pasar sin el debido
respeto por ellas, hallan
los sectarios de Calvino,
Arrio y Lutero ocasión
de ejecutar sus designios,
valiéndose de la noche
para injuriar, atrevidos,
con obscenos menosprecios
lo que adoramos indignos.(581)

This suggestion may be half burlas, half veras; it is surely impracticable, given the prevailing devotion to sacred images, and is more likely to be a vehicle for some anti-Protestant sentiment (compare, for example, Avila's El valeroso español, 568, for a bout of related invective).

El ollero de Ocaña by Luis Vélez de Guevara, which dates from between 1624 and 1633, makes considerable use of a portrait which is supposed to be a faithful likeness. The relevant details of the plot are as follows: Blanca loves Nuño, but he has had to go into hiding for killing a man in a duel, and he is rumoured to be dead. Just before Blanca is officially promised to Sancho, whom she does not love, a mysterious message is sent advising Sancho that Blanca already has a dueño (and has been in his arms), and that he, Sancho, will die if he marries her. The messenger identifies his master as Diego Bellido, the potter of Ocaña; Blanca, with her reputation in tatters, is now accused from all sides, and responds by promising to marry Sancho if he can kill the originator of her dishonour. Sancho seeks out the potter, who is Nuño, but does not kill him (he is, in fact, rescued by him). In the second act Blanca enters 'mirando un retrato'(BAE XLV, 149b), filling Sancho with jealousy as she

ignores him to talk to the image. He demands an explanation, and she complies:

> Blanca. El retrato, es desvarío
> pensar que os ha de ofender;
> que entre unos sueltos papeles
> de mi padre pude ahora
> verle, y lo que me enamora
> es la fuerza en los pinceles,
> con que la valiente mano
> de otro Lisipo español
> da envidia a Marte y al sol,
> por valiente y cortesano;
> armado en blanco se pinta,
> con tan alta admiración,
> que me roba la intención,
> teniendo el alma sucinta
> y abreviada en el pequeño
> espacio de líneas breves,
> que descubren rayos leves,
> con tanta vida, que el sueño
> deste dormido pincel
> exhala en rayos armados
> espíritus abrasados,
> que me transforman en él.(149c-150a)

Once more, the lifelike quality of this miniature is emphasized, together with the pun on the word 'valiente'. Lysippus, renowned as a classical sculptor, is a strange choice where the standard archetype of Apelles would not have disrupted the syllable count. Blanca goes on to suggest that if Sancho intends to 'borrar los sabios/ rayos desta muerta vida' so as to satisfy his jealousy, the death of Diego Bellido (she does not know that Bellido is Nuño) is the price to pay: 'presto los podréis borrar,/ pero bañando la mano/ en la sangre del villano'(150a). Allowed to see the portrait, Sancho instantly recognizes Diego Bellido (Nuño) as the sitter. Blanca pretends not to know the identity of the subject, and reminds Sancho that, although the image looks flimsy, only Bellido's blood will wipe out the face. This kind of painting-with-blood symbolism prefigures Calderón's

treatment of related ideas. Later in the second act, Vélez has Sancho torn between two images as he decides where his obligations lie; the portrait in Blanca's hand and the chivalrous behaviour of Bellido (Nuño) have indicated that he is a nobleman: 'el retrato publica/ que a su imagen corresponde'; his love for Blanca is the 'cielo inmóvil,/ adonde su imagen vive'(153c). Not surprisingly, he defers his decision, and eventually supports the marriage of Nuño and Blanca. In this play the central portrait theme is reinforced by conceits using the verb pintar (143c and 149b), traslado (143b), imagen (146b), and cifrar (148a and 155c).

The theme of portraiture permeates Tirso's play La vida de Herodes (1612?-1615?: printed in 1636).[24] Apart from including several portraits, Tirso develops a whole range of verbal options, which include imagen, figura, retratar, pintar, cifrar, copiar, imitar, esmaltar, bosquejo and trasunto. The action begins with Josefo bringing portraits of Aristóbulo and Mariadnes in order to marry them to Salomé and Faselo. Josefo describes the portrait of Mariadnes as the shadow of her sun, and offers Aristóbulo 'en bosquejo'(174); he then expatiates on the quality of the portraits and the extreme beauty of the sitters:

Josefo. No pudo la sutileza
del pincel en tal belleza
ostentar más su primor,
y aunque honrando a su pintor[,]
Apeles se ha aventajado,
con ser éste su traslado
parece su borrador.
Aquí sólo no permite
la naturaleza sabia,
por más que el arte la agravia,

que sus estudios imite,
porque ni el oro compite
con sus cabellos [etc.] (174)

As in many other plays, the subtle artifice of the painter is emphasized; the portrait of Aristóbulo looks more like the sketch from which he was made rather than a copy of him, while Mariadnes defies the painter's skill which offends Nature. These may be rhetorical commonplaces, but they nonetheless reinforce the idea of the painter as a skilled creator of likeness in his images. Faselo and Salomé react well to the portraits, and are happy to be married to such partners.

At this point Herod, a ruthless soldier, returns from sacking a castle in Armenia, where he fell in love with a woman he saw portrayed in the duke's art gallery. The gallery is described as a place where Spring framed the portraits (reflections) in the fountains or ponds ('cristales'); the portraits in the gallery were 'desvelos del pincel' and 'emulación de la gloria'(175). Amongst all the beautiful women from mythology, a Jewess stood out like the truth compared to flattery. He found out her name, but will not reveal it; however, he left the gallery 'como una alma pintada', his own soul stolen by her 'más que divina copia'(176). Faselo then shows Herod the portrait of his bride to be, and he recognizes Mariadnes as the woman in the duke's gallery: 'En esta pintura,/ ¿no se cifra la hermosura/ que mi libertad abrasa?'(176). He then compares his very real (vivo) jealousy with the painted image (pintado); he explains to his father that Cupid has shot him with a pincel, and that he has lost his own soul and found an 'alma pintada'(177).

Soon we see Herod turned painter himself, trying to put Mariadnes off Faselo by running her proposed husband down: '<u>Herodes</u>. Mi hermano la <u>pintaré</u>/ de suerte que lo aborrezca/ [...] <u>pintaré</u> en él un extremo/ de un esposo, un Polifemo'(180). Coincidentally, Mariadnes falls from her horse while hunting nearby, and Herod is on hand to carry her in unconscious. He curses his luck, which seems intent on giving him Mariadnes 'o pintada o medio muerta'(181). He contemplates enjoying her while she is unconscious, but thinks better of it:

> <u>Herodes</u>. Enamoróme pintada,
> y la ocasión y ventura
> me la dan <u>casi en pintura</u>
> pues me la dan desmayada.
> [...]
> Mas no gozo, si lo advierto
> sino como Pigmaleón,
> una estatua sin acción.(182)

When she revives, he couches his explanation of her situation in the same terms: 'y retratando de Fidias/ un mármol sin vida bello,/ casi a infundirse el alma/ quiso volver Prometeo'(183). In a very short space, Tirso has mentioned in Pygmalion and Prometheus two mythological figures whose creations came to life: the power of art is again underlined.

In the second act Herod kneels before Mariadnes to worship her as an 'imagen de amor bello', and retells to her his experience in the gallery, pretending it happened to someone else:

> <u>Herodes</u>. Colgaban sus paredes
> <u>pinceles triunfadores</u>
> <u>de la naturaleza</u>,
> cuyas ostentaciones
> bellezas celebraban,
> robaban corazones
> y <u>daban almas vivas</u>

alientos y colores.
En medio estaba un cuadro
y en él (no sé cómo ose
pintarle sin su injuria
mi lengua agora torpe)
un fénix de belleza.
[...]
Mas, para no cansarte,
si quieres que la copie,
mírate en el espejo
de ese cristal que corre.(186)

In this speech three previous themes are reiterated: art coming to life, Herod as painter, and the reflection in water as a portrait. Mariadnes realizes that he is referring to her: 'Casi lo que refieres,/ para pintar mi historia,/ te da falsos colores'(187). Herod then declares his love to her: 'Pintada me rendiste/ y viva echas prisiones'(188); Mariadne resolves to be his wife. Meanwhile Hircano, her father is inconsolable, thinking that she is dead; once again, the painting theme is employed: 'ni con pincel valiente/ podrá la primavera/ juntar alegres prados/ que alivien mis cuidados,/ por más que esmalta flores lisonjeras'(189). The notion of Nature, and particularly Spring, as painters recalls the first description of the duke's picture gallery. As a variation on Herod's amor por el retrato, Marco Antonio has fallen in love with Mariadnes 'en relación' and 'de oídas'(193).

In the third act, Herod's trust of Mariadne is undermined by an anonymous letter implying adulterous behaviour ('Herodes. ¡Ah, vil papel, en quien pinta/ la deshonra mis desvelos!': 199), and he turns into the monster recorded by Biblical history. He is invited to meet the three Magi, the second of whom is said to portray April ('Efraím. El segundo, que retrata/ de abril el joven decoro': 202). He, by

contrast, will be painted another way:

> Herodes. No haya hombre
> que en el siglo venidero
> si un rey quiere pintar fiero
> no le atribuya mi nombre.(203)

We then see how differently the Magi will be painted by history, in a tableau where Tirso seems to have envisaged a static painting effect; a shepherd prepares us for the 'discovery':

> Liseno. El portal que reverencio
> es éste del Dios de amor,
> velde y callad, que es mejor
> que la lengua aquí el silencio.
>
> (Descúbrese un portal de heno, romero y paja, lleno de copos de nieve, y en él la adoración de los Reyes como se pinta) (205)

Herod, meanwhile, insists on killing his own son (by Mitilene); she tries vainly to reason with him: '¿Tu misma imagen deshaces?'(206); all children must die, since they are 'retratos de aquel infante/ que a usurpar mi reino viene'(207). The play closes with another 'stage painting', as Herod is discovered: 'descúbrese muerto Herodes con dos niños desnudos y ensangrentados en las manos'(207). We are clearly intended to contrast this second 'picture' with the image of the Magi.

A good many other plays could have been added to those discussed in this chapter, but my aim has been to illustrate the widespread attraction of portrait themes to a range of Lope's contemporaries, rather than concentrate on Vélez de Guevara or Tirso, both of whom make considerable use of such themes. There has also been no space for a glance at Calderón's early comedies, such as El acaso y el error (1635-

36?), where the retrato is at the centre of the action. The portraits and the painters in the plays I have examined are obviously invented, but the insistence on the life-like quality of the images and on the skill of the painter has implications beyond the realm of the plays. People clearly did assess portraiture according to the criteria expressed in plays, and they were evidently interested in painting and in the figure who possessed the talent to rival Nature in this way: the painter. My next chapter will examine the way in which the painter is presented in the comedia, and I shall go beyond 1635 to consider briefly the development of various themes in the plays of Calderón and his contemporaries.

Chapter 7 - Notes

(1) For example: 'Estos pliegos y retratos/ llegan agora de Roma'(Rojas Zorrilla, La vida en el ataúd, ed. R.R. MacCurdy, Madrid: CC, 1961, 165). Other examples of plays where portraits are instrumental in the arrangement of marriages are: Mira de Amescua, El esclavo del demonio (c.1613), where the image is not trusted: 'sin dar crédito al retrato' (Teatro, I: ed. Angel Valbuena Prat, Madrid: CC, 1960, 46), and Luis Vélez de Guevara, El príncipe viñador (c.1615) and El amor en vizcaíno, los celos en francés y torneos de Navarra (possibly 1615).

(2) For example: Mira de Amescua, La rueda de la fortuna (1603-04), where a portrait of a villano, called Fócas, is prepared from a description given by the emperor (who saw him in a vision), and then used to seek him out: 'Filipo. Mientras yo descanso un rato,/ pregunta por algún hombre/ a quien llamen de ese nombre/ y parezca a ese retrato'(BAE XLV, 12). In his Discurso de mi vida (c.1630), the former sea-dog Alonso de Contreras tells how Solimán de Catania had his portrait made in order to locate and capture him (ed. H. Ettinghausen, Barcelona, 1983, 63).

(3) In Vélez de Guevara's El amor en vizcaíno, Carlos keeps Estrella's portrait ('copia peregrina') 'en un joyel [que] lleva al cuello'(ed. H. Ziomek, Saragossa, 1975, 69).

(4) In Luis Vélez de Guevara's play El verdugo de Málaga (1626-30), Domingo has sold everything, even 'las sillas y los retratos' to fund his irresponsible escapades (ed. M.G. Profeti, Saragossa, 1975, 38).

(5) For example, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón uses color with the sense of 'deception' or 'questionable pretext': 'Quiero con este color/ prenderle sin enojarle'(Don Domingo de don Blas, after 1623, ed. Vern G. Williamsen, Valencia, 1975, 96); in El tejedor de Segovia, by the same writer, the color is the stated (but not the real) reason for the arrest of Garcerán (ed. A. Millares Carlo, Salamanca: Anaya, 1971, 41: lines 245-52). In the anonymous version of El alcalde de Zalamea (before 1610), the verb pintar is equated with a false image, as Don Diego claims that he is too distinguished to marry the mayor's daughter: 'Alcalde. Hacer fuerza bien sabéis,/ que fue siempre de villanos;/ luego no es

bien que os pintéis/ caballeros cortesanos,/ si agravio a mi honra hacéis'(ed. Juan Alcina Franch, Barcelona, 1970, 285).

(6) The resemblance of Art and Nature is a favourite theme of Calderón's theatre: Casa con dos puertas, mala es de guardar (1629) contains a description of a woman who looked artificial amidst statues that looked real, and where the speaker imagines Nature saying to Art 'sé hacer una estatua yo,/ si hacer tú una mujer sabes'(ed. José Romera Castillo, Barcelona, 1984, 82-83: lines 305-38). In Mira de Amescua's La rueda de la fortuna the prince addresses Nature by referring to painting: 'Bosques oscuros, que tan peregrinos/ merecían los célebres pinceles/ de Timantes, de Ceusis y de Apeles,/ tenidos en el mundo por divinos'(BAE XLV, 11). Also by Mira de Amescua is the following: 'Narses. Con el silencio y quietud/ de la noche, está el palacio/ pintando en sombras y lejos/ la soledad de los campos'; see El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha [1625], in Teatro, II, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: CC, 1973), 35.

(7) For example: 'Sale el Demonio en figura de hombre con un palo en la mano para fingirse ciego'(Gaspar Aguilar, Vida y muerte del santo fray Luis Bertrán, 1608, PDV II, 321); other examples in Tirso's El condenado por desconfiado (1624-25?: ed. D. Rogers, Oxford, 1974, 13 and 52-54). The aid of holy images is invoked in, for example, Vélez de Guevara's El verdugo de Málaga [1626-30], ed. M.G. Profeti (Saragossa, 1975), 57-65.

(8) La Barrera gives no dates for Medina, but states that a manuscript of another play by him dates from the first third of the seventeenth century (243). The text used is a suelta, and since the pagination goes awry, my references are to the correct sequence.

(9) Northrop Frye, A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance (New York and London, 1965), 48; cf. 4-5, 10, and 45.

(10) 'Chapín. Yo no entiendo esos matices,/ ni las parábolas todas/ que dices a esa mujer,/ sin mirar que es una cosa/ de sueño. querer pintar/ a una mujer cuando ronca'(fol. 28ᵛ).

(11) The text I have used is in BAE XLIII, 529-47. Claramonte is mentioned by Agustín de Rojas as a playwright as early as 1603; La Barrera concludes that Claramonte 'floreció a fines del siglo XVI y principios del XVII'; other plays in manuscript

form by him date from 1612, 1622 and 1631, with printed plays from 1630 onwards (93-94).

(12) Carducho mentions anamorphic pictures: 'Otras muchas admiraciones vemos por medio de la Pintura, de mucho ingenio y gusto, como es lo que se mira por una parte parece una casa, sierra, o mar, y por otra será un retrato de hombre, o caballo, mirándolo por un punto o agujero'(Diálogos, 1633, fol. 103r).

(13) The theme of the painter deceiving another painter with his artwork occurs in Pliny, and was popular in the Siglo de Oro. For example, Cristóbal Pillicer[sic] praises Montemayor's translation of Ausías March in these terms: 'Si la toalla es prueba muy entera/ por el pintor Parrasio debujada,/ con que fue la ventaja averigüada/ que al famoso Zeuxis él tuviera:/ Pues siendo tal artífice cual era,/ la toalla que en la tabla vio pintada/ quiso quitar con mano apresurada,/ creyendo Zeuxis fuese verdadera:/ Quien con Ausías March os igualare/ ilustre portugués, muy poco haría,/ si no os hiciese más aventajado./ Pues si el mesmo Ausías resuscitase/ esta versión, sin falta, pensaría/ ser más original que no traslado'(Las obras de Ausías March, traducidas por Jorge de Montemayor [Valencia, 1560], ed. F. Carreres de Calatayud, Madrid, 1947, 6).

(14) 'Fátima. Este es el San Salvador/ que de allá, Celín, trujiste,/ con cuyas colores diste/ a mi deseo color'(434a).

(15) 'Clavijo. Señor, lo que yo puedo aconsejarte,/ es que procures que la vista sea/ la que desta verdad ha de informarte;/ y si tu prima acaso fuere fea,/ no faltarán escusas con que impidas/ el lazo que se teme y se desea'(Comedias y entremeses, ed. R. Schevill and A. Bonilla, Madrid, 1918, III, 95).

(16) When asked for a portrait they do not have, Torrente says it was lost at sea, and that the sea did not go calm 'tocándole su figura'; Marcela explains that 'no era reliquia el retrato', to which don Silvestre's servant counters 'No; pero si él le arrojara/ con devoción, se mostrara/ manso el mar y el cielo grato'(109). The blasphemous notion of the beloved's portrait as a holy relic was clearly one that writers and their public liked to flirt with.

(17) See Entremeses, ed. Miguel Herrero García (Madrid: CC, 1966), 221-24. For Covarrubias' definition of trasgo and duende, see above, Chapter 4, note 28. For other examples of pintado as 'perfect' compare

'¡Oh, qué pintada ocasión!'(Tárrega, El Prado de Valencia, PDV I, 182b) and the following exchange: 'Sombrerero. No hubiera desagradado/ a ninguno sino a vos;/ que es pintado, ¡vive Dios!/ Domingo. Pues no le quiero pintado,/ sino a mi gusto y de lana' (Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Don Domingo de don Blas, ed. Vern G. Williamsen, Valencia, 1975, 47: lines 699-703). For the English versions I have quoted see Edward Honig's translation of Cervantes' Interludes (New York, 1964).

(18) La Barrera states that Avila was a young man in 1615, and still active in 1645 (22); this play was not printed until 1668. I have used the text published in BAE XLIII.

(19) Mira's play was performed on June 6th, 1632: see N.D. Shergold and J.E. Varey, 'Some Palace Performances', BHS XL (1963), 226.

(20) I have used the edition by S. Griswold Morley (Bordeaux, 1924), originally published in BHi XXV and XXVI (1923-24). In quotations which include omissions, I have given the line numbers where the extract begins and ends.

(21) Covarrubias includes the following explanations in his long entry on ayre [sic]: 'Tener aire, tener gracia una cosa. Darle aire, entallarla bien y agraciadamente. Tener Pedro el aire de Juan, es parecérsele en el movimiento, o en el cuerpo y rostro [...] Entre los músicos se usa este término: tiene buen aire en tañer o cantar.' The term existed in Italian art criticism, for example in Dolce's writing, where aria meant 'expression'(see Roskill, 164, 168, 176 and 205). For criticism of paintings that lacked aire, compare the following comments from 1591 on religious images in the Escorial church: 'Los sanctos se conocen por relación, que todos están tan lejos y tan altos que apenas se alcanzan de vista, los famosos pintores han allí olvidado su arte, perdido su dibujo, el aire y el movimiento que en otras partes solían dar a las imágines[sic], y los que acá deban[sic] casi vida a sus figuras allí resciben[sic] la muerte en sus personas' in 'Discours del Escurial[sic]': see Celia M. Wallhead, 'Two Sixteenth-century Satires from the Public Records Office', BHS LII (1975), 217-25, especially 220-21.

(22) J.H. Parker has suggested that this play, if authentic, is an early work: see 'The Chronology of the Plays of Juan Pérez de Montalván', PMLA LXVII (1952), 186-210. The text I have used is in BAE XLV.

(23) On the power inherent in the monarch's image see, for example, Juan de Zabaleta, Errores celebrados [1653] ed. David Hershberg (Madrid: CC, 1972), 'Error XI', 52-56. Typical of Zabaleta's stance towards portraits and statues of monarchs is the statement that 'siempre nos los proponen de manera que nos mueven o nos arrebatan los corazones'(54).

24) I have used the text as presented in Comedias de Tirso de Molina, II, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1907), 173-207. Blanca de los Ríos suggests the date for this play: see her edition of Tirso's Obras dramáticas completas 3 vols (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958), I, 1565.

Chapter 8: The presentation of the painter in the comedia.

This chapter is intended as only a brief survey of the way various dramatists presented the figure of the painter, and not as a full-scale study. There have been a number of valuable accounts of what Andrew Martindale has called the rise of the artist, and what Julián Gállego has characterized as the development from artisan to artist.[1] Michael Levey has stressed the importance of the dealings between Alexander and Apelles ('an ideal of the patron-painter relationship') in the establishing of the painter as a fixture at Court.[2]

Besides Pliny's Natural History, the writings of Alberti and Castiglione played a key role in disseminating the idea of the artist as an intelligent and cultured man, and of painting as 'most worthy of liberal minds and noble souls'.[3] As Martindale demonstrates, 'art became the object of intelligent interest to educated and articulate men'(98). The same writer points out that there were also unfavourable attitudes to artists buried in classical literature, but that these were not revived (102). The influence of Vasari's Lives and the example of Michelangelo (in particular) had their effect on characterizing the artist as someone set apart from the majority of mankind, largely controlled by the dictates of his genius rather than subscribing to normal patterns of social behaviour. This cult of the superior man crystallizes in Jauregui's contribution (composed around 1624-25) to the bid for painting to be acknowledged as a liberal art:

> El que sólo considerare el profundo estudio desta Arte, y su inmensa dificultad de ingenio, le atribuirá admirado singular culto y estimación: y los que descaecen desta honra, dan señas evidentes de grosera incapacidad [...] No se intentan estos milagros sin mayor ingenio que de hombres, y estudio superior a lo humano [...] El Vasari dice briosamente por algunos Artífices, que podemos nombrarlos «Dioses mortales» [...] Puédese también advertir en honra del Arte, que por ser toda ingenio, suelen los que la exercen esconderse y cerrarse para lograr sus extasis en soledad [...] Luego superior juzgan muchos la [sic] Arte de la pintura, y rarísimo, e incomparable el ingenio del que en ella acierta [...] No se inclinan a usarla [pintura], sino hombres de toda modestia y nobles costumbres [...] los que han de usar de la pintura suelen prevenirse de lo contrario: y al modo de los Santos contemplativos, se maceran y ayunan, por dar sutileza al ingenio, su principal agente.[4]

Many of the themes outlined by Jauregui in his brief discourse were implicitly and explicitly accepted by writers of the period; I have given examples of this in my first two chapters. In iconic verse the painter was usually characterized as ingenioso, sutil or docto, and his special ability or insight as raro. Evidence shows that it was common for the nobility to receive tuition in drawing and painting (as well as dancing and fencing). To give one example, in the first half of the sixteenth century Juan Hurtado de Mendoza states that 'El joven, con la caza, esgrima y danza,/ con música y debujo y juego honesto,/ es hecho, a veces, digno de alabanza'.[5] This is reflected later on in the comedia: in Vélez de Guevara's Comedia del Rey don Sebastián (1604-08) we see the bellicose king dismiss his painting and dancing tutors in favour of a fencing class.[6] The nobleman who can turn his hand to painting is a recurrent figure in the comedia, and he has parallels in the English and French theatre of the same

period.[7] I shall include this particular type of painter in my examination.

It seems that all factors were contributing to form a particular conception of the artist as a person with an exceptional talent that deserved respect: the influential Juan Huarte includes painting in a list of skill areas that require 'la buena imaginativa', as do (for example) medicine, mathematics, preaching and poetry.[8] There is no hint of opprobium here, or in his advice to develop rather than stifle or divert a child's artistic talent (171). Nevertheless, there was still a question mark over the social status (as distinct from the prestige) of the artist. Nigel Glendinning has shown how, in the late sixteenth century, painters in Spain still ranked as craftsmen, along with butchers and tailors, while Jonathan Brown has given a detailed account of the struggle that Velázquez (and others) had to erode the prejudices of other courtiers and, in particular, the treasury.[9] In a study of the artist in nineteenth-century English fiction, Bo Jeffares summarizes a finely-balanced position for the painter which probably corresponded quite closely to the predicament of his seventeeth-century Spanish counterpart, at least until the 1630s:

> The rich trading classes combined prejudice and a peculiar jealousy when thinking of cultivated, and particularly artistic, people [...] The reverential respect the bourgeois entertained, despite his better sense and social mores, for the kind of creativity he could buy, but not emulate [...] The artist [was frequently shown] making more successful bids for prestige but from a still precarious social position.[10]

Jonathan Brown sees the knighting of Titian and Rubens as key events in this process of social elevation. For him Las

Meninas is only fully intelligible if considered as 'an affirmation of the nobility of painter and painting'(Images and Ideas, 110).

The best-known painter in the comedia is Juan Roca of Calderón's play El pintor de su deshonra (1648-50). The play was evidently highly-rated in the seventeenth century, for around 1690 Bances Candamo singles it out as a 'primorosa comedia'.[11] Another of Calderón's painters was Apelles, in Darlo todo y no dar nada (1651) and this play was sufficiently well-known to be worth sending up in a burlesque version by Pedro Lanini, published in 1671. There has been a tendency to focus critical attention on Juan Roca, in particular, without considering his precedents in Spanish theatre and fiction; his melancholic temperament is viewed, for example, as a feature imported from the German tradition centering on Albrecht Dürer's renowned Melencolia engravings.[12] I feel that A.K.G. Paterson's quest for Juan Roca's 'Northern Ancestry', although he may be right, needs to be tempered with some consideration of his Spanish heritage. In the remainder of this chapter I shall examine the treatment of Apelles in four plays, including Calderón's version of the story, and look at the way other dramatists used painters in their plays. I shall also consider the burlesque theme, which is not confined to Lanini's parody.

Probably the first painter on the Spanish stage was Titian in Lope's play La Santa Liga (c.1598-1600). His mission to Constantinople to paint a portrait of Rosa Solimana is a fictitious episode, and he is on stage for only a short while.

Members of the Venetian senate welcome him as 'pintor famoso, gran Ticiano ilustre,/ honor del siglo antiguo y moderno'(Acad. XII, 244). We are not told whether or not the painter was sent by them (in response to Selín's supposed request) with instructions to gather intelligence, but Lope has him advise the Senate on Selín's lack of readiness for war: 'Bien podéis desarmar vuestras galeras'. He brings a letter from Selín which describes Titian once more as 'pintor famoso', expresses satisfaction with the service he has performed and entreats them to knight him: 'pídoos encarecidamente le hagáis noble'(245); the two reasons for knighting Titian are strangely worded: 'pues ni por el arte lo desmerece, ni su virtud me obliga menos que a pedíroslo'; the concept of the virtuous painter tallies with the image projected by, among others, Alberti, Gutiérrez de los Ríos, and Carducho.[13] The idea that because he is a painter Titian is not undeserving of noble status reflects the continuing prejudice that painters had to contend with. Comparison with a painter in the English theatre of the same period confirms this point: in the anonymous play The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll (printed in 1600) Lord Lassenbergh is content to live disguised as a 'mercinary' painter for the sake of love; the implication is that such a vocation, despite its connection with 'eye-ravishing Art', would in normal circumstances be beneath his dignity.[14] In Lope's play the Senate follow Selín's recommendation, with immediate effect ('desde hoy'), and the grateful Titian produces on request a portrait of Rosa, which is subjected to the briefest inspection ('¡Hermosa

dama!'). He is then politely dismissed: 'Id, Ticiano, con Dios porque el Senado/ quiere hablar en negocio de importancia'(245), and a discussion of battle plans ensues. There is not a lot to go on here; Lope has not developed Titian as a character, nor does he take the opportunity to evaluate the quality of the portrait he delivers in a manner that could add weight to his sudden elevation. From being someone who appears to have valuable eye-witness knowledge, he is now removed from the discussion. Several important themes are suggested here without being developed: the virtuous painter, the noble painter, and the painter as the trustworthy servant of the crown.

Between 1602 and 1608 Luis Vélez de Guevara introduces a painter into his play La hermosura de Raquel (Segunda parte).[15] When Putifar leaves Joseph in charge of his household affairs, we see him deal with various tradesmen and officials, one of whom is a painter who brings a picture onto the stage. Joseph opens the exchange with some instructions: 'Haced que [de] aquestos lejos/ menos vivo el color quede'(fol. 170ᵛ), and follows this up (in a mangled text) with some maxims on the subject of painting, all of which leaves the painter admiring his knowledge ('Nada dejas de saber'). Joseph affirms, for the benefit of both painter and audience, that good painting must have propriedad and invención, and be sutil. In a frustratingly faulty text, he then singles out some shadows and cloud effects for special praise, and commends the painter for avoiding the temptation to flatter his sitter(s), whereupon the grateful painter vanishes from the play. This

short scene invites several conclusions: firstly, that the capable hero of the action, in line with Castiglione's advice, has more than a nodding acquaintance with the mysteries of painting, and secondly, that a theatre audience of the time would be interested in the artistic issues which are touched upon. In a brief later scene, an architect comes to discuss the design for a new palace with the pharaoh (who cannot really decide or function without Joseph); as he begins to describe what he has in mind, the architect discovers that the pharaoh has gone to sleep, and realizes that he would have been better advised to deal directly with Joseph. Both scenes involve commissions to do with design, and Vélez shows us the contrasting reactions of the cognoscenti and the ignoramus (irrespective of wealth and social status) to art.

Two of the key elements in the Alexander-Apelles-Campaspe legend are the king's selfless generosity and the special relationship between him and his favourite painter. In the 1560s Felipe de Guevara underlines the 'autoridad' that Apelles had with his master, and Alexander's 'mayor victoria de sí mismo'(ed. Benet, 246); Juan de Butrón calls his surrender of Campaspe to his painter 'una de la mayores hazañas de su historia'(fols 109^{v}-110^{r}). Carducho views the deed as an example more of great payment than of imperial grandeur (fol. 97^{v}). Covarrubias indicates that Alexander had become a byword for generosity: 'Al que loamos de liberal y dadivoso decimos que es un Alejandro', and by extension the term alejandría was used (for example, in Lope's El remedio en la desdicha) to denote an act of generosity.[16] While John

Lyly's English play of 1584 is called 'A most excellent Comedie of Alexander, Campaspe and Diogenes' and, from 1591 onwards, simply Campaspe, in Spain the dramatizations of the story emphasize the grandeur and generosity of Alexander in their titles.[17]

In Las grandezas de Alejandro (1604-08: BAE 190) Lope dramatizes the Apelles-Campaspe episode in one scene. Alexander tells Campaspe that he would like a portrait of her, and she is happy to comply and give him 'de mi alegría un traslado'(344a). Prior to the arrival of Apelles, Alexander and Efestión indulge in some rudimentary poetic pintura of her: this is an element that Calderón later combines with the actual painting of the portrait. Apelles arrives with 'tabla, naipe y colores', and Alexander introduces him to his divinely beautiful model:

> Hoy al mismo sol retratas;
> tu fama, Apeles, dilatas
> con admiración del cielo.
> Hoy de la naturaleza
> has de ser competidor.(344b)

So far there is nothing particularly notable; the dazzling beauty of the lady ('sol') is standard, although Lope does prepare the ground for the Prometheus and Phaeton themes later on; the competition with Nature is also a commonplace. Apelles is stunned by Campaspe, and feels that he and his art are powerless; he explains his bemusement to his master:

> Digo, señor,
> que de una rara figura
> nadie entiende la hermosura
> como un perfecto pintor.(345a)

This is more interesting; the painter, so often referred to as 'raro pintor' understands and appreciates extreme beauty

('rara figura') more than other men do. This idea is prominent in Castiglione's account of the painting of Campaspe: Alexander gives her up to a painter who 'in his mind could know her more perfectly than he did'.[18] Despite this assertion of superiority, Apelles' art fails him, and he admits defeat: 'no acierto a pintar'(345a). Lope now introduces the theme of Cupid, in that Apelles is blinded as was the god of love, and the brushes are now arrows painting her image on his soul (345b). Predictably, the portrait does not resemble Campaspe: 'no le parece' says Alexander, who realizes what has happened, explaining that a truer image has been painted on Apelles' soul (345b-346a). With the proverbial grand gesture, Alexander gives Apelles the original in exchange for the portrait. Campaspe's reaction to this transfer is predictable: Castiglione had suggested that 'no holgaría mucho de trocar un tan gran rey por un pintor'(trans. Boscán, ed. Pozzi, 197). Lope follows Castiglione's lead in showing the lady's disappointment, but introduces a new element (though still in keeping with Castiglione's drift) as he makes Alexander defend the art of painting. The first painter was God, painters rival Nature: 'son los pintores segunda naturaleza', painting is 'el arte divino'(346b and 347a). Apelles closes the scene with the rather immodest claim to be 'rey de los pintores'(347a). Lope's early version is very brief: there is no painting competition, no edict forbidding others to paint Alexander, no development of the painter's character, and not much information about painting. The two most interesting features are the hint of poetical

pintura to accompany the actual portrait-painting (the poet can use cosmic similes and metaphors to convey an intimation of extreme beauty where, in this case, the painter fails), and the indirect, or even direct, quotation from Castiglione (available in Spanish translation since 1534).

Between this appearance of a painter and the full-length exploration of the Apelles-Campaspe story in La mayor hazaña de Alejandro Magno (1614-18) there are several plays where painters appear in the action. Lope's Peribáñez and Grajales' El Bastardo de Ceuta have already been examined; in the first play, the painter is an efficient and confident artist who recognizes real beauty when he sees it, while the second play shows a man who is modest and anxious to serve. In Los hijos [or fijos] de la Barbuda (1608-10) by Luis Vélez de Guevara, Marsilio the Moorish king of Aragon has adopted the disguise of a painter-envoy in order to court Urraca, the sister of King García of Navarre. The scene opens with him pursuing her while he paints, oblivious to her repeated protests:

> (Sale Urraca y Marsilio, rey moro, pintando en un retrato que trae)
>
> Marsilio. (Pintando)
> ¡Oh soberanos matices,
> oh nácar, oh nieve, oh perlas!
> ¿Cómo podrá ser posible
> al arte con fuerza humana
> obligar a que os imite?
> [...]
> (Pinta)
> Bellos ojos, soles graves.
> Urraca. Cuido que pintas.
> Marsilio. No dicen
> también los ojos del cielo.
> Urraca. Suspenso calla y prosigue.(BAE XLV, 129a)

Once again we can see here the cosmic and jewel metaphors hinting at the beauty which painting cannot render, and

serving Marsilio's purpose to flatter the lady, who (in turn) cannot resist being painted (and flattered) despite her complaints. Marsilio pretends that 'the king' loved her 'por fama de tu belleza', and that he has been sent to make her portrait for his master. He tells how he saw her first in a harmonious garden, the appropriate setting for her stunning beauty:

> Marsilio. Ciego quise
> hurtarte con el pincel
> esa belleza imposible.
> El artificio a mis ojos,
> ningunos entonces libres,
> entre tanto que robaban
> tu blancura los jazmines,
> [...]
> a Venus me pareciste,
> [...]
> Dejar de seguirte
> sin acabar el retrato,
> ni pude, Urraca, ni quise;
> [...]
> Y como a nobles y a reyes,
> porque en algo se ejerciten,
> un oficio les enseñan,
> como siempre ociosos viven;
> la pintura me enseñaron,
> [...]
> Si te pintara el cuidado
> del que por fama te adora,
> fuera imposible acabar
> en la eternidad del alma,
> que cualquier sentido calma
> cuando le llega a pintar;
> siendo en los locos bosquejos
> de sus colores obscuras
> sombras todas las venturas,
> y esperanzas lejos.(129b-c)

The theme of her impossible beauty is developed into a conceit whereby the degree of his (presented as his master's) hopeless love for her would also prove impossible to 'paint'. Marsilio is a nobleman who has been taught to paint, and not a professional. The painting scene is essentially a chance for

him to woo Urraca with words: as she remarks 'moro, ¡qué dello has fablado [ie. hablado]!'(129c).

The painter and his portrait of Serafina are important components in Tirso's El vergonzoso en palacio (around 1610). The whole play is concerned with appearances, disguises and illusions, from the loa onwards, and words like transformar, apariencia, contrahacer, engañar, falso, traslado, mudable, trocar, señas, disfraz, copiar, color, fingir, semejanza and mentir convey Tirso's principal themes.[19] There are several references to painting and sculpture in the play: the loa stresses the 'mano sutil' of two sculptors and the artwork (labor) in the throne made for Xerxes (3); paintings (together with books and histories) of violent rape are offered as guarantors of the truth of sexual assault (26); a commoner dressed up as a nobleman is said to resemble an 'imagen de roble/ que ni mueve pie ni mano', while Mireno (obviously not a villano) is described as an 'imagen de oro,/ con la funda de sayal'(32-33); Mireno tells the story of the 'bruto', carrying an 'imagen', who mistakenly thought he was the object of reverence, and then applies it to his own situation with Madalena (86-88). Towards the end of the play, the public announcement of the rehabilitation of don Pedro de Coimbra (Lauro) commands respect for him if alive, and requests that his 'imagen [h]echa al vivo' be paraded all the way to court if he is now dead (133).

Into this context Tirso introduces Antonio who commissions a portrait of Serafina as she rehearses her part in a play dressed in male attire. Antonio seems to think the painter

will have no problem: 'pues fácilmente,/ mientras se viste, sacará el bosquejo'(67); his cousin Juana brings her into the best position for the painter to do his work. Antonio equates himself with the painter: 'Pintores somos los dos', and then delivers a lengthy account, with sustained metaphor, of love as a painting process involving thought, will and understanding (72-73). The painter has heard the Aristotelian 'tabla rasa' notion at the centre of his explanation, and says so; he is therefore an educated man, and we see him speak his mind as he asks why Antonio wants the portrait if he already has the one painted by his love. Serafina emerges, and tells Juana (and the audience) that the comedia is, among other things, 'de la vida un traslado'(75); the fact that this definition of drama is sandwiched between Antonio's 'portrait' and the painting of the 'retrato corporal' is a deliberate invitation from Tirso to draw a parallel between the two art forms. Antonio instructs the painter to begin, wondering whether a human hand can 'copiar [al vivo] la belleza singular de un serafín'(75). The painter's comment is interesting: 'Es humano;/ bien podré'(75); he is confident, in contrast to her lover's diffidence. When Juana uses the truth of his presence there to deceive Serafina (engañar con la verdad), the painter shows some alarm at the prospect of the duke's wrath, but regains his composure and finishes his sketch. At this point he could perhaps leave, but Tirso keeps him there to witness and comment briefly on Serafina's acting, itself a compelling illusion to match his own skill. Half-way through her performance he admits to being entranced by her: 'Estoy

mirándola loco./ ¡Donaire extraño!'(79); the implication is that the more he has studied her features and demeanour, the more he has been able to appreciate the extreme quality of her beauty, which resides in her donaire, or grace, spirit, liveliness.

Whether or not portraiture could capture and convey donaire was a matter occasionally aired in the theatre: for example, in Juan Diamante's play El honrador de su padre (acted in 1657) Jimena states that 'nunca vi retrato/ que al original llegase;/ que forma y color se pintan,/ mas no la gracia y donaire'; by contrast, in Por su Rey y por su dama, by Bances Candamo (first acted in 1685) the leading character, Portocarrero, having fallen for a lady after seeing her portrait, explains that it conveys to him (amongst many other things) 'lo peregrino/ del rostro con tal donaire, tal travesura en la vista'.[20] In order to convey these qualities, the painter must perceive them first; Tirso's painter has the 'raro aviso' which so many other painters are credited with in Spanish literature of the period. The likeness he achieves in Serafina's portrait is underlined and then exploited by Tirso to illustrate the lady's perversity, as she falls for an image of herself in male attire. When she has been tricked into marriage to Antonio, a bewildered Serafina asks: 'Y qué, ¿fue mío el retrato?'(139); the likeness of the portrait is not in question, but rather her interpretation of it. In this play we see the painter as an educated, confident, straight-talking professional, who is matter-of-fact and worldy-wise; an efficient maker of compelling but truthful illusions, much

like the dramatist and the actor (a comparison Tirso intended his audience to draw).

La mayor hazaña de Alejandro Magno (1614-18: Acad.N. II) may be by Lope; MB conclude that it is 'doubtful', but for the sake of convenience I shall assume that it is his. There are two portrait-painting scenes in the play. Before these, we see indications of Alexander's esteem for the painter: 'Tu pincel precio, Apeles soberano'(397); Apelles offers to fight for his country and is made a captain (398); Campaspe sees Alexander's image painted (pintar) in the waters of a fountain, and then the roles are reversed (399); we see Apelles fall for Campaspe, whom he describes as a heavenly statue, and as a 'celestial pintura'(404); we see Campaspe deny that she would give up Alexander to be 'de un noble pintor mujer'(407); we see Darius shown a portrait of Alexander which is described as 'bello' and executed 'con diestra mano y con sutil estilo' (409). In these examples, the talent and the status of the painter are underlined, together with a tendency (perhaps) to view beauty in terms of art. In the first portrait-painting scene (411) Alexander is the sitter and the image in progress is intended to intimidate, as Efestión explains:

Efestión. La prudencia
de nuestro Rey, de quien retrata Apeles
armada la flamígera presencia
al compás de la caja los pinceles
consagran en la tabla la presencia,
no de un Marte sangriento, fiero, airado,
sino de un Alejandro desatado.
[...]

(Córrenla [cortina] y descúbrese Apeles retratando [a] Alejandro, que estará armado y con la espada en la mano, feroz, y a sus lados los dos embajadores)

Alexander promises the portrait to the Greek ambassadors, since it will act as a deterrent to rebellion: 'esta tabla os ponga freno,/ contemplándome furioso,/ como aquí lo represento'(412); here again, there is a linking of painting and acting (representar). Unlike Plutarch's account of the sitting, where Apelles did not succeed in rendering his master's complexion, there is no hint that Apelles will fail in the attempt to convey the impression which is required; Plutarch's account of Alexander's life does, however, include an episode where one statue of him fills another king with horror, and so Lope may be dovetailing the two events together.[21] The notion of painting to martial strains, in order to stimulate the right mood in both sitter and painter, has an historical counterpart in the techniques of Esteban March the battle painter.[22]

The notion of the potent painting features again in an account of what happened to an image of Bucephalus which Apelles painted:

> Bufo. Mas porque sepa una valiente hazaña,
> o un milagro, señor, de sus pinceles,
> tu majestad, pintó con fuerza extraña
> a Bucéfalo fuerte, con delgado
> pincel, entre la espuma que le baña,
> [...]
> Acabado, señor, quedó mirando
> Bucéfalo el retrato, y, más furioso,
> acometió con él, imaginando
> que le aguardaba fiero y belicoso
> y que era verdadero.(421)

Even Apelles admits that what happened here was 'cosa extraña'(422). This story of the horse derives from Pliny, and was retold by every writer on painting. According to Pliny, Apelles excelled all other painters by virtue of the

'charita' or grace which he was able to introduce into his works; Felipe de Guevara states that Apelles challenged Nature, while Gutiérrez de los Ríos maintains that he exceeded all others 'pintando lo que parecía imposible pintarse'.[23] Lope has given two examples of Apelles' unique capacity to capture the essence of his subjects. The command to paint Campaspe presents Apelles with a challenge and an opportunity. Lope shows us the painting in progress: 'Descúbrese una cortina donde estará Apeles retratando a Campaspe en un naipe o [sic] otra cosa semejante'(423). The first line is Campaspe's: 'Vuelve al pincel. Ten cordura.'; Apelles has already lost his composure, and complains that he cannot find the right colour:

> Apeles. Aun no distingo el color,
> que me ciega el resplandor
> de tu divina hermosura.
> [...]
> Campaspe. Tu [mirada] me fatiga.
> Apeles. Ella la vida me da.
> [...]
> Jamás te he visto tan bella.
> [...]
> Campaspe. ¿Quieres, por dicha, enojarme? (423)

Alexander is sent by Felicia to the studio of 'el diestro pintor Apeles', and remarks on the intense manner of the painter's stare: '¡Qué atento/ color Apeles ofrece/ a su rostro, que parece/ que la pinta el pensamiento!'(424). Apelles' next line sounds harmless: 'Mírame, porque mejor...', until he declares his love for her. Alexander witnesses his overtures, the handing over of the portrait, and Campaspe's disdain. When the gracioso Bufo enters, presumably behind the painter, Apelles confesses his guilty love, as though to Alexander, and immediately changes tack to accuse Bufo of

loving Campaspe; this is intended as a dramatization of a guilty conscience and madness caused by love: 'Apeles. Yo estoy sin seso./ Loco estoy'(424). He is now ready to die for love of the unresponsive Campaspe, whom he addresses as 'sorda esfinge de mármol'(425): an oblique reference to sculpture. Alexander is left to reflect on whether he can allow Campaspe's status to fall from 'el palacio eminente' to the 'mísero y triste albergue de un pobre pincel'(425); this view of Apelles' status does not tally with his acknowledged nobility elsewhere in the play, and Lope seems to have had a rhetorically-induced lapse. Soon afterwards, Apelles rushes into his master's presence to confess his guilt, and ask for death which he richly deserves for attempting to steal the 'gallarda cifra' of all that Alexander holds dear. Alexander agrees that he deserves death for repaying his 'afición' in such a manner, but he hands a very reluctant Campaspe over to Apelles, with the promise of financial gifts as well. To sum up: besides possessing his proverbial painting skills, Apelles is presented in this play as a man with a sense of honour, unlike Bufo (who is a 'villano'). He is no coward, even if his final confession smacks of desperation. Love does not stop him painting (Campaspe likes her portrait: 'Premio merece el retrato': 424), but it does drive him to distraction.

In Lope's play Las burlas veras (1623-26) Felisardo, prince of Urbino, has fallen in love with a portrait of the widowed princess Celia, and comes incognito to woo her. He asks her secretary, Rugero (himself a nobleman in disguise), to tell him the best means to gain access to Celia. It turns out that

the princess is very fond of books, and particularly painting:

> Rugero. Pero si halláramos cuadros
> de pintura, era ganalle
> el gusto, tan inclinado
> a esta ciencia, arte divina,
> que con obscuros y claros
> se opone a naturaleza;
> que no hay cosa con que tanto
> descanse su entendimiento
> sus lúcidos intervalos.[24]

Here painting is presented (unusually) as a science as well as an art, and the lady applies her understanding, not just her gaze, to it. It turns out that Felisardo is an accomplished painter: 'desde mis primeros años/ ejercité la pintura', and confident in his own abilities: 'y en materia de retratos/ no daré ventaja a Apeles'(607-10). Once introduced to Celia, he wastes no time: the first portrait he shows her is her own, and several people comment on the likeness ('Serafina. ¡Qué cosa tan parecida!': 760); this is the one he bought in Venice, which caused his love. He promises to paint her ('verás la naturaleza corrida'), providing he can find colours which are sufficiently beautiful, etc. He then shows some portraits of his: 'damas diversas/ me fiaron su hermosura'(779-80); she arranges another meeting for a longer look at his artwork.

Celia's father commands Felisardo to paint his daughter's portrait so that it can be sent to finalize an arranged marriage with the duke of Calabria. He plans to keep the accurate portrait, and substitute for it an unflattering image ('retrato feo, tosco y fiero': 1058). We then witness the first session, as Celia invites him to exercise 'aquel arte imitador del cielo'; he adjusts her pose:

Felisardo. Siéntate aquí.
Celia. Aquí me siento.
Felisardo. Y yo siento en mí
más destreza en el favor.
Dame pinceles y tabla. (A Otavio)
Otavio. Aquí están.
Celia. Hoy quiero ver
cómo, Lauro, una mujer
por cuatro colores habla.
¿Estoy bien?
Felisardo. Vuelva tu Alteza
un poco el rostro. (Ap.) Estoy loco.
Celia. ¿Volveré más?
Felisardo. Otro poco.
(Ap.) Ciego estoy de su belleza.
Celia. ¿No comienzas?
Felisardo. Con la sombra
voy haciendo el fundamento,
que tenéis entendimiento
que tanto sol os asombra.(1078-93)

He embarks on a lengthy poetic pintura, and leaves with her painted on his soul if not on the naipe. Celia and her maids reflect on his behaviour: 'Celia. De palabra me pintó./ Serafina. No pudo con los pinceles'(1150-51). Like Lope's Apelles, he has been unnerved by her beauty ('Serafina. La turbación lo ha causado': 1143), and like some of his predecessors on the stage he resorts to poetic pintura. This, however, may be the first instance in the theatre where some attempt at realism (I use the word guardedly) has been attempted in relation to the selection by the painter of the right angle or pose.

The 'monster' portrait has the desired effect, and we discover that Felisardo has now managed to paint Celia's portrait: 'un cuadro que pinté/ que jeroglífico fue,/ y fue asombro del palacio'(2388-90). The few details he gives of this portrait echo in part the specifications made to the painter in Peribáñez:

> Pinté a Celia, lo mejor
> que pude, en un verde prado,
> y a mí en lejos transformado
> en hábito de pastor.(2391-94)

Whether or not the pastoral setting was a common feature of miniature painting is uncertain: the green meadow clearly symbolizes hope, as well as rustic simplicity, and the lover logically becomes a shepherd. The projection of a noble coterie onto a stylized rustic setting was a popular literary exercise: Gaspar Mercader's pastoral book El Prado de Valencia (1600), to give one example, presents the Viceroy of Valencia as the 'pastor de Denia' and his literary entourage as (no doubt, identifiable) shepherds and shepherdesses.[25] Felisardo adds a coded message to his portrait of Celia, with 'letras cifradas' and 'disfrazadas'(2395, 2398): this is an uncommon feature of portraits in the comedia, which seldom have mottoes to decipher. We know that the empresa-portrait existed, and it is strange that dramatists did not exploit the potential of a cryptic message included in a life-like image.[26] At the close of the play, despite his efforts, Felisardo loses out to Rugero, and refuses the other ladies he is offered. The love-sick painter, traditionally more capable of appreciating exceptional beauty, is left 'desdichado' in this play.

There are painters in several other plays dating from the 1620s and 1630s: in Juan Latino by Diego Ximénez de Enciso the king commands that a portrait of Juan Latino be painted for his collection of 'hombres insignes'.[27] The portrait is described as 'en una tabla doctamente trasladado'(300) and, when it is compared with the sitter ('cotejemos el retrato'), the painter's skill is praised: '¡Valiente pincel!'; Juan

Latino uses what sounds like a painting aphorism to make a punning reference to his own dark skin: 'Si el alma/ del pintor está en la sombra,/ harta sombra tiene'(305). Curiously, though the painter of this admirable portrait is announced, there is no indication in the text that he does enter, and he certainly neither speaks nor is spoken to. Tirso's play El Caballero de Gracia contains a scene where a painter brings in two religious pictures and shows that he is well-read as he explains the content of one of them; he, like others, recognizes the saintly qualities of the Caballero de Gracia. His is a brief cameo role.[28] I mentioned the play También la afrenta es veneno by Luis Vélez, Coello and Rojas Zorrilla in my Introduction. Here the gracioso describes the painter as 'este hidalgo', and concludes that he has a 'cara de oficial o ayuda'(BAE LIV, 589b); for his part, the painter is sufficiently nervous, as he waits in a palace ante-room, to address the gracioso with the line 'Hidalgo, ¿es del Rey criado?'(589c). The tyrannical king has threatened to hang him if he fails to produce a portrait of Leonor, but (strange contradiction) he is richly rewarded when he is successful, delivering a portrait which is both 'raro' and 'peregrino'.[29]

The most interesting new feature of the painter in literature, as far as Calderón's Juan Roca is concerned, occurs in Tirso's short story, Los tres maridos burlados (pub. 1624). One of the three duped husbands is a painter:

> La segunda [mujer] tenía por marido a un pintor de nombre, que en fe del crédito de sus pinceles, trabajaba más había de un mes en el retablo de un monasterio de los insignes de aquella corte, sin permitirle sus tareas más tiempo que al primero [el cajero de un caudaloso ginovés], pues las fiestas que daban treguas a sus

> estudios eran necesarias para divertir melancolías que la asistencia contemplativa deste ejercicio comunica a sus profesores.(BAE XVIII, 481)

Scholars have pointed out that the connection between the melancholic humour and outstanding talent in the arts and sciences derives originally from Aristotle, and that Ficino gave the Renaissance the conclusion that only melancholic people were capable of creative enthusiasm.[30] Both Lope and Calderón endorse the idea that melancholy can give rise to 'ilusiones', an opinion mirrored in English literature of the same period.[31] Juan Huarte links the melancholic temperament to 'grande entendimiento con mucha imaginativa', and implies that the 'imaginativa' is good for (among other things) 'pinturas' and 'perspectiva'(Examen, ed. Torre, 164 and 237). Tirso's statement sounds like a rule of thumb and/or a popular assumption.

Juan Roca and Apelles, in Calderón's theatre, date from 1648-50 and 1651, respectively. I shall examine briefly what the two plays have in common regarding the presentation of the painter.[32] Where Juan Roca is a (no longer young) nobleman with a tendency to melancholy who seeks occasional relief in painting, for which he has a talent comparable to that of a professional, Apelles is a painter by trade, described as 'joven, hábil, galán y discreto'; we see him injured defending Campaspe who addresses him as 'joven gallardo' and describes him as 'un generoso joven', and he finally develops 'melancólico humor' and goes temporarily mad for love of Campaspe; he also talks in terms of his 'honor' and carries a sword. Certain points are common to both: the noble status

(subject to the dictates of honour), the artistic talent, and the potential for melancholy. Juan Roca views earning his living as a painter in terms of a shameful comedown (214-16); Apelles has no such qualms, and is (by implication) ennobled by the fact that painting is a 'noble mentira de la gran naturaleza', and by his own 'habilidad noble'(148 and 153). There is perhaps a hint in these two plays that the painter's status was still not completely resolved.

Both Juan Roca and Apelles attempt to paint the perfect beauty of the woman they love. Calderón shows Juan Roca as diffident, even defeatist, from the start; perfect beauty presents a problem for the painter: 'cuando su destreza [de la naturaleza]/ forma una rara belleza/ de perfección singular,/ no es fácil de retratar'(161). John Lyly has his Apelles make the same point in 1584:

> Beautie is not so soone shadowed whose perfection commeth not within the compasse either of cunning or of colour [...] Never finish: for alwayes in absolute beauty there is somewhat above art.(Campaspe, ed. Hunter, 1991, 84 and 97).

Juan Roca explains that it is easier to paint ugliness than beauty, and he repeats the same point later in the play (162 and 219). Any portrait painter will tell you (and would have told Calderón) as much: Juan de Butrón, a lawyer, makes the point in 1626, deriving it from an anonymous 'Panegírico a los Emperadores Máximo y Constantino':

> Si es dificultoso, y es imposible se haga sin mucho estudio, el sacar un perfecto retrato de un original ordinario, sin comparación lo es mucho mayor del hermoso, y perfecto: los estraordinarios, y feos, con ponerles el defecto los hace estraordinarios, salen parecidos.(Discursos, fol. 74v)

Calderón has Apelles explain the same point to Estatira, and warn her that her beauty ('vuestra perfección') may be to blame if his portrait of her does not come off ('cuando el retrato no acierte': 151). When she interprets this as flattery ('Cortesanos sois, pintor'), the joke is on Apelles twice over: his pictorial theory has been wasted on her, and misinterpreted, while he is also addressing the wrong woman, since it is Campaspe he is to paint.

In both plays Calderón includes 'realistic' instructions in the painting scene, as Lope did in Las burlas veras (see above, p. 403). Juan Roca's instructions to Serafina are 'vuelve un poco' and 'mírame ahora, y no te rías', while Apelles tells Campaspe to keep still: 'no hagáis/ mudanza, para que llegue/ a coger más fijo el aire' - a piece of jargon which, along with many others, Lanini cannot resist mocking in his play. Both painters throw their brushes down, Juan Roca in despair and Apelles because painting Campaspe forces him to contemplate her perfection; Apelles' portrait ('tan vivo') stuns Campaspe by virtue of its resemblance to her: his skill betrays him, but does not desert him, and he, like Lope's Apelles of 1614-18 (and unlike Lope's Apelles of 1604-08 and Juan Roca), manages to capture her perfect features despite his love for her and the challenge of exceptional beauty. It seems to me that many of the features of Juan Roca, together with his painting theory and the aborted painting scene (and, as I have already said, the notion of painting dishonour in blood) have precedents in the Spanish theatre, and in other Spanish literature. Dürer's influence may well not have been

the only, or the main inspiration behind the character and behaviour of Juan Roca.

The painter as a figure of fun goes back (at least) to the commedia dell'arte in Italy, and to don Pitas Payas of the Libro de buen amor in Spain (verses 474-489). I mentioned certain recurrent literary jokes about painters in my first chapter and the bobo-versus-portrait subgenre in connection with Lope's play La dama boba; I shall briefly examine some examples where the painter and painting are presented in a way intended to achieve a comic effect in the theatre. In an anonymous play called La cruz en la sepultura (printed some time around 1630-33) the bandit Eusebio and his gang capture a painter, a poet and an astrologer.[33] The Genoese painter is carrying a portrait of a lady that he has made for a wealthy Florentine, and the fact that her name is on the portrait prompts the gracioso to tell the well-worn joke of the (presumably) bad painter who wrote on a picture of a cat 'Aquéste es gato'.[34] The painter counters with some pride in his art (in what looks like a faulty text) and inadvertently sets up his own particular fate at Eusebio's hands:

Pintor. No es defeto en la pintura
traer escrito su nombre,
que nadie [h]abrá que [no?] le asombre
esta imitada [figura].
Y [yo soy] el que pintar
enseñó los naturales
árboles y frutas tales
que se pueden admirar
los hombres, pues, cuando imito
la variedad y la veo,
queda sin hambre el deseo,
sin deseo el apetito.
Eus. Si en ti perfeción tan bella
ha alcanzado la pintura,
gran género de locura
es no aprovecharte della.

> Atadle aquí, y, si mirare
> la variedad de las flores,
> dalde puntas y colores:
> coma de lo que pintare.(42)

John Lyly (around 1584) works along similar lines when he makes Apelles' servant complain that he is obliged to feed on painted food.[35] At the root of this particular 'painting' joke is the notion of convincing imitation, deriving from a range of anecdotes told by Pliny. Presumably audiences found scenes based on this joke funny: in this Spanish play any humour is tempered with menace, and the pay-off for the painter's two companions lacks both wit and artifice. As in the case of Lope's legless miniature, you have only to take portraiture or the painter's claims literally to get a comic effect.

Around 1649 Antonio Martínez de Meneses composed a play, which he called a 'farsa', in which the painter and, more particularly his artwork, play a central role. At the outset of La Reina en el Buen Retiro the painter is heard offstage arguing with a client over payment for a portrait that was commissioned from him: 'Mi hacienda no he de perder [...] El dinero he de cobrar'.[36] Then we have the unusual sight of a painter using a sword against a client: 'Sálense acuchillando el Pintor con un retrato en la mano'(fol. 154ᵛ); the painter is convinced that he is right: 'Yo tengo mucha razón'. Marcelo and Lope break up the fight and, as the client leaves never to return, the painter explains in more detail the cause of the fracas. The commission was unusual in that the client wanted an image of perfect beauty, and not of a specific lady: the painter explains that the components of this perfect beauty were left 'a mi elección'(fol. 154ᵛ).

Lope is so impressed by the beauty of the lady in the portrait and, as he says, 'por el arte, y los colores' that he buys the image (supported by Marcelo who confesses that 'mucho el dibujo me agrada'), and the painter leaves the scene a happy man. The portrait has caused him a great deal of work (he uses the verb 'cansarme' twice), and is more than worth the asking price: 'No paga el naipe el dinero', so he is happy to sell it to Lope, who offers more than the original fee, and who appreciates the artwork involved; as the painter remarks, 'pues conocéis sus primores,/ justo será, que os le dé'(fol. 154ᵛ). So far there is no comedy, just some art-loving noblemen helping an aggrieved painter out of an awkward spot. The comedy begins immediately afterwards, as the portrait arouses the curiosity and then the jealousy of the two ladies that Lope and Marcelo have been courting. The lies they tell about the portrait (that it is of Lope's marriageable sister) intensify the confusion and the comedy as two other gallants are smitten by the beauty of the lady in the portrait, and vie with each other to ingratiate themselves with Lope in order to wed the mystery lady. At one point we learn that the perfect beauty is presented as a 'cazadora', that she is 'airosa'(fol. 158ʳ), that the background is red ('todo el campo de encarnado'), a colour symbolizing passion, that the sitter's hair is loose ('los cabellos [...] sueltos, [...] con donaire repartidos'), and that she is wearing a hat with feathers ('un airoso sombrero/ de plumas [...] guarnecido'(fol. 158ᵛ). The collective male fascination with a woman presented in this guise (probably revealing more flesh than in court attire) is

that much more understandable.

Early in the second act a bewildered, even exasperated, Lope exclaims: '¡Quién de un retrato, sin dueño,/ tales enredos pensara!'(fol. 159ʳ), while for Marcelo the portrait is now 'este maldito retrato (fol. 169ʳ); the confusion and the comedy continue to intensify, especially when one of the rival suitors sends for a painter to make a copy of the image. The painter duly arrives, recognizes his own handiwork, and tries to explain that he made up the face in the portrait; however, none of the women (there are now three) wants to marry any of the men, and the painter is left holding his picture, which not even the gracioso can be tempted to take. Although the painter is not intrinsically funny himself, some of the comedy set in motion by his consummate portrait of female beauty rubs off on him, and he is left a comically forlorn figure at the close, clutching a portrait miniature which he knows will have little chance of finding another owner (he said as much before Lope made what turned out to be a bad error in buying it from him). The comedy does not spring from the lampooning of his skill, as in other plays, since the portrait is universally praised by all who see it, but from the effect his handiwork has on a silly, if appreciative, microcosm of youthful nobility.

Three playlets dating from the 1650s feature the famous gracioso Juan Rana in comic scenes to do with painting. Hannah Bergman has suggested that Solís, Moreto and Villaviciosa composed these pieces in comic celebration of the (possibly royal) commissioning of the comedian's portrait in

about 1651.[37] Two of the playlets use gags from the commedia dell'arte to send up the concept of the 'retrato vivo'. In Moreto's treatment, called El retrato vivo, Juan Rana is persuaded that his real person is elsewhere and that he is his own portrait; he is brought onstage in a frame with instructions not to move, and the aim is to cure him of marital jealousy.[38] Standard comments on lifelike portraiture (for example, 'parece que se sale de la tabla') are now literally true. When the 'portrait' complains of hunger the painter arrives just in time to make the mouth smaller; all present are then invited to point out any faults in the portrait, and Juan Rana is forced to endure some comic pulling and poking. Villaviciosa's Entremés del retrato de Juan Rana uses another established portrait gag: the small boy emerging from the canvas to represent the living image. Juan Rana is put into an authoritative pose, with instructions on how to compose his face.[39] The painter assures his model that 'os retrata el primer/ hombre del mundo, y más raro': here an adjective so commonly applied to painters is no doubt intended instead to mean 'odd', and the caricatured clothes the painter probably wore would enhance this meaning and the joke. (A French playlet from 1663, for instance, contains four grotesque painters).[40] Several comments by the painter (for example, 'Ya yo ando/ en los pies') are understood literally by Juan Rana, and turned into jokes ('así andan todos'). When the painter announces that he has finished, a small child emerges to shouts of admiration ('es un pasmo' and 'este milagro'); the child announces that he is Juan Ranilla and 'de

vuestras gracias soy el inmediato'; he does not want to be abandoned by Juan Rana, who responds by taking charge of him. An identical device is recorded in Gherardi's 1695 collection of commedia dell'arte scenes acted in Paris: in Arlequin Misanthrope the painter offers to show Harlequin his portrait: 'Voulez-vous voir votre portrait en petit? J'ai tous les gens illustres. Voyez. Cela vous ressemble-t-il? (On voit un petit Arlequin dans le Tableau qui salue, descend, danse et s'en va)'; there are clearly close parallels here with Villaviciosa's version.[41]

The 1650s and 1660s were evidently a period when the comic treatment of painting was in vogue. The Bayle entremesado del Pintor (published in 1663), by Vicente Suárez de Deza, shows a mildly comic painter pretending to paint a lady's profile-portrait, but in fact revealing the model as he goes.[42] The part of the painter is to be performed by 'el gracioso, o la tercera dama en su lugar, o como mejor pareciere'(fol. 56r). The painter sings at the outset and then speaks a series of coplas, alternating with musicians who comment on the progress of the portrait. As in Villaviciosa's entremés, the painter brags about his capacity to make lifelike portraits: 'tan al vivo pinto a todos' and 'tan semejante a ella propia la pienso hacer'(fol. 56v). Following an iconic cliché, the musicians ask 'pero a su nariz ¿cómo se atreve?'(fol. 58r); when the 'portrait' is complete, the model announces 'yo no estoy pintada,/ sino es por chiste'(fol. 59v), which provokes amazement and accusations of sorcery: 'Aquesta es hechicería;/ este Pintor tiene diablo'(fol. 59v). The painter states that

'éstos del arte mío/ son los milagros', and repeats the same words when the model leaves the picture ('Sálese del cuadro': fol. 59ᵛ). The painter gives witty answers to some questions, and the playlet then closes with a dance. As is often the case with jokes, there are serious points implied: the miraculous quality of genuine, lifelike portraiture, the superstitious mistrust of secular images, the hint of sorcery in such expertise, the idea that the artist in some way reveals, as much as he reproduces, Nature.

Pedro Lanini's burlesque version of Calderón's Darlo todo y no dar nada was published in 1671.[43] The evidence suggests that the mood was right at that time for comic painting scenes, and Lanini may have chosen Calderón's play for that reason. His play contains many contemporary allusions and topical jokes which are difficult (and some impossible) to decipher, coupled with timeless banter and slapstick. In the scenes involving the portrait competition (where Apelles is chosen over Timantes and Zeuxis), and in the the painting of Campaspe's portrait, Lanini really indulges himself. Alexander, rejecting two of the portraits, chooses the one by Apelles because it looks like him; we are kept waiting to see why:

> Alejandro. A éste sí que me parezco
> en todo pintiparado,
> parece que soy el mesmo,
> que la cara me cortaron,
> por él juzgo que patente,
> y tiene mi condición.
> Efestión. ¿En qué?
> Alejandro. En que está haciendo gestos.(446)

Until the undermining pay-off line, the standard terms of approval are employed, including the implication that

portraiture can capture character ('condición'). A similar technique is used when Apelles paints Campaspe:

> Apeles. Arrastrad un tahurete [sic],
> poneos aquí, porque empiece
> [a] hacer el primer araño.
> Camp. ¿Y si acaso me doliese?
> [...]
> Apeles. Quedo, que os estoy sacando
> los ojos.
> Camp. Aguarda, tente.
> [...]
> Apeles. Poneos bien, para que llegue
> a coger más fijo el aire.
> Camp. ¿El aire coger se puede?(462)

Here again, the simple technique of taking the artistic jargon (in italics) literally is developed to create comic effect. As in Calderón's play, a poetic pintura is sung while the painting is taking place; as this example shows, while the standard order (hair downwards) is followed, the usual comparisons are sent up: 'Si son muy parecidos/ al sol sus dientes,/ es sólo en que se quitan,/ y ponen siempre'(463). Apelles curses his 'habilidad', as Calderón's painter does, but in this case because he always gets paint on his clothes; he shows Campaspe her portrait, where he says that she is 'hecha un Olofernes' (meaning, presumably, that he, like the legendary Judith, has cut off his victim's head, and that his portrait resembles her closely). Her reaction is interesting:

> Camp. ¿Qué es lo que miro? ¿Es por dicha
> algún niño de dos meses
> el que me ponéis delante,
> que tanto se me parece?(463)

Lanini seems here to have opted for the boba-versus-portrait variation rather than the monster-portrait variation. Campaspe's problem is with the scale, not the likeness. Apelles duly goes mad, and at the close of the play Alexander

saves the day by lending Campaspe to him, thereby complying (as it were) with the title of the play - Darlo todo y no dar nada.

The last play I shall discuss in this chapter is El médico pintor, San Lucas by 'Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo', which was printed in 1675, although the author was active from 1660 onwards.[44] The play centres on St. Luke's battle against the idolatry of the Thebans, in which his prowess as a painter plays an important part in his success. Taking his artistic example from God ('el Apeles soberano': fol. 11^{v}), and Christ ('pintando de sus milagros/ en el lienzo del juicio/ las virtudes soberanas': fol. 6^{r}), Luke paints first Christ and then the Virgin Mary. Jerusalem is described as 'del sol retrato'(fol. 3^{r}), while Mary's portrait is 'la imagen del Sol hermoso'(fol. 6^{v}); indeed, throughout the play the portrait imagery is quite deliberately set against the notion of the idol: human love is characterized by the verb idolatrar (fol. 8^{v}), and the idol of Apollo falls when Luke invokes the Virgin's power: 'Bajan dos Angeles con espadas, cae el Idolo'(fol. 16^{r}). Luke, himself, is described as 'gran pintor', superior even to Apelles: 'Apeles en la pintura/ no fue tan agudo, y diestro/ como él'(fol. 5^{r}).

Apparently to offset in some way the theme of the perfect painter, 'Zárate' has Modorro, his gracioso, hold forth for some twenty-seven lines (fols 6^{v}-7^{r}) on those unskilled painters ('pintores de ramplón') who have misrepresented, or just bodged their efforts to imitate, what God has created:

> Está el Arte de pintar,
> siendo de tan gran primor,
> como ha dado en muchas manos
> casi casi sin color.
> [...]
> En efeto[sic], el Arte dio
> en pintar de male[sic] mano
> todo cuanto Dios crió,
> y siendo, que dice el Texto,
> que cuanto ha criado Dios
> es perfectamente bueno,
> éstos sin arte, y primor
> lo echaron todo a perder.

The examples he gives, including some puns on words like valiente and piadosos, are intended as comic relief, even though they have lost their immediacy for the modern reader. Clearly, the bad or incompetent painter remained a target for light-hearted mockery in the comedia, the comic aspect of an intimidating illusionist who could bewilder the onlooker with the retrato vivo. The stage antics of Juan Rana illustrate one side of the coin, so to speak, while the life-size portrait, which moves unexpectedly and appears to threaten the onlooker (as in Tirso's La prudencia en la mujer and La firmeza en la hermosura), represents the serious, even darker, aspect of the painter's prodigious powers.[45]

Chapter 8 - Notes

(1) Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (London, 1972); Julián Gállego, El pintor, de artesano a artista (Granada, 1976).

(2) Painting at Court (London, 1971), 13; see also his Chapter 4: 'The Courtier-Artist', passim.

(3) See K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art (London, 1896: reprinted, Chicago, 1968); Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting translated and edited by John R. Spencer (New Haven and London, 1976): quotation, 66.

(4) Juan de Jaureguí, Untitled discourse on painting, c.1625: fols 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 6^{r}, 8^{r}, 12^{v} and 13^{r}. See also in Carducho, Diálogos, 1633, fols 189^{v}-197^{r}.

(5) 'Cuarto discante del buen placer trovado', in Poesía de la Edad de Oro 2 vols, ed. José Manuel Blecua (Madrid, 1982), I: 'Renacimiento', 62.

(6) Ed. Werner Herzog (Madrid, 1972): 'Criado. Los maestros han venido./ ¿Quiere Vuestra Majestad/ danzar, pintar o esgrimir?/ Rey. [...] No tengo de danzar/ ni pintar, no se detengan'(extract from lines 910-22).

(7) For example, Lord Lassenbergh in the anonymous play The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll (pub. 1600), examined below in this chapter; in the mid-seventeenth century Molière probably derives his nobleman turned painter for love from the traditions of the commedia dell'arte: see Le Sicilien ou l'Amour Peintre, in Oeuvres Complètes (Oxford, 1926), 363-71. Adraste explains why he is a competent painter: 'De tout temps je me suis plu à la peinture, et que parfois je manie le pinceau, contre la coutume de France, qui ne veut pas qu'un gentilhomme sache rien faire'(368).

(8) Juan Huarte de San Juan, Examen de ingenios para las ciencias, ed. Esteban Torre (Madrid, 1977), 164; cf. 234.

(9) Nigel Glendinning, 'Introduction' to the Catalogue for the Royal Academy Exhibition: The Golden Age of Spanish Painting (1976), 14. Jonathan Brown, Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting (Princeton, 1978), Chapter 4, esp. 102-110. Juan de Juanes was referred to, in

contemporary documents, as 'Magnifich'[sic], a title granted in Valencia only to people of considerable social standing: see Angel Dotor, Juan de Juanes (Madrid, 1964), 11.

(10) The Artist in Nineteenth-Century English Fiction (Gerards Cross, 1979), 14-15.

(11) In his Theatro de los theatros de los passados y presentes siglos, ed. Duncan W. Moir (London: Tamesis, 1970), 34.

(12) See A.K.G. Paterson, 'Juan Roca's Northern Ancestry: A Study of Art Theory in Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra', FMLS VII (1971), 195-210.

(13) Alberti: 'I would be delighted if the painter, in order to remember all these things well, should be a good man and learned in liberal arts'(trans. Spencer, 89); Gutiérrez de los Ríos suggests that the liberal arts, including painting, also make their practitioners 'honrados, generosos, de buena y suave condición'(Noticia, 1600, 40). The theme of the pious, even saintly, painter (propounded by Jaureguí) is developed by Carducho who tells the exemplary story of the 'devotísimo pintor' whose hand was guided by a Divine 'mano superior' in the painting of the 'milagrosa Imagen de la Nunciata' in 1252; furthermore, the face of the Virgin was completed while the artist 'se quedó dormido' (Diálogos, fol. 7ᵛ). In this story of saintly communion with the Deus Pictor, the prestige of the painter is simultaneously undermined (he cannot render Divine beauty) and enhanced (he alone is worthy to undertake 'tan sagrado empleo'). A version of the same story is told in Moreto's play El Santo Christo de Cabrilla.

(14) In A Collection of Old English Plays 4 vols, ed. A.H. Bullen (New York and London, 1964: first published 1882-89), III, 95-163, esp. 100-101.

(15) I have used the text in Flor de las comedias de España, de diferentes autores. Quinta parte (Madrid, 1616).

(16) El remedio en la desdicha (1596-1602): 'Nuño. Tú tienes la culpa desto,/ por hacer alejandrías'(Lope de Vega, Comedias I, ed. J. Gómez Ocerín and R.M. Tenreiro, Madrid: CC, 1967, 148: lines 2305-06).

(17) See John Lyly, Campaspe ed. G.K. Hunter (Manchester and New York, 1991), 'Introduction', 1-3.

(18) Trans. G. Bull, 102. Compare: 'And let those reflect on this who are so carried away when they see a beautiful woman that they think they are in paradise, and yet cannot paint; for if they did know how to paint they would be all the more content, since they would then more perfectly discern the beauty that they find so agreeable' (101).

(19) See Tirso de Molina, Comedias I, ed. Américo Castro (Madrid: CC, 1970), 9-140.

(20) Both plays are in BAE XLIX; for the quotation from Diamante's play see 44c, and from Bances' play, 371c. See my Conclusions for more on Bances' insistence on a credible image.

(21) See Plutarch's Lives trans. Langhorne and Langhorne (London, n.d.), 465-66, and 494.

(22) For example, Antonio Palomino describes March as 'de genio algo lunático, y atronado', and illustrates his painting methods: 'Y poniéndose a discurrir el lance de Batalla, que se le ofrecía pintar, se enfervorizaba de suerte, que tomaba la Caja, o el Clarín, tocaba a embestir, y echando mano de una cimitarra, u otro instrumento, comenzaba a disparar golpes, y cuchilladas por todo el aposento [...] Poseído de este furor, hacía maravillas en las Batallas', El museo pictórico y escala óptica 3 vols (Madrid, 1715), III, 319. See also Martin Soria, 'Esteban March, Baroque Battle and Portrait Painter', Art Bulletin XXVII (1945), 109-123, especially 109-110 and 122.

(23) See Pliny, Chapters, ed. cit., 121; Guevara, Comentarios, ed. R. Benet (Barcelona, 1948), 250; Gutiérrez, Noticia, 1600, 134.

(24) Las burlas veras ed. S.L. Millard Rosenberg (Philadelphia, 1912), 24, lines 593-601. All references are to line numbers.

(25) See Henri Mérimée's introduction to El Prado de Valencia (Toulouse, 1907), ciii-cvii.

(26) For example, Leslie Hotson refers to an impresa-portrait of Philip II and his son (Shakespeare by Hilliard, 1977, 26).

(27) Edited (with El Encubierto) by Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1951), 304. I have checked the text against the version in Segunda parte de comedias escogidas (Madrid, 1652), fols 33r-63v, especially 56v-57r.

(28) See Obras dramáticas completas, ed. Blanca de los Ríos, 1958, III, 298-99. The Caballero de Gracia is presented as an art lover: 'Pintor. Por saber que es tan curioso/ vuesa merced, y que estima/ pinturas, si las anima/ algún pintor valeroso,/ para su oratorio tengo/ aquí dos cuadros de mano/ del celebrado Pinciano,/ Caballero. Con pinturas me entretengo;/ veamos qué tales son'(298b).

(29) The king's reaction to the portrait is described by the prior: 'Fuerza ha sido del pincel,/ y de su amor excesivo,/ suspenderse con el cuadro'(590c).

(30) See, for example, Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, Born under Saturn (New York, 1969), 102-05.

(31) For example, Calderón's El galán fantasma (with Casa con dos puertas) ed. José Romera Castillo (Barcelona, 1984), 277: lines 1644-50; see also Calderón's El José de las mujeres, in BAE XII: Comedias III ed. J.E. Hartzenbusch (Madrid, 1945), 359c. Francisco Pacheco quotes Cesare Ripa's verbal portrait of the figure 'Pittura', reaffirming the link between 'los continuos revueltos y vagos pensamientos de la imitación de l'arte' and 'muncha[sic] melancolía'(Arte de la pintura, ed. Sánchez Cantón, 1956, I, 99). In English literature of the period see, for example, the concise description of 'A Melancholy Man' (pub. 1614), possibly by Sir Thomas Overbury, which includes the statement that 'variety of foolish apparitions people his head [etc]'(The Overburian Characters, ed. W.J. Paylor, Oxford, 1936, 21-22, especially 22).

(32) Editions used are: El pintor de su deshonra (with El médico de su honra) ed. Angel Valbuena Briones (Madrid: CC, 1956), 119-231, and Darlo todo y no dar nada in Comedias III, ed. J.E. Hartzenbusch BAE XII (Madrid, 1945), 137-63.

(33) Ed. H.C. Heaton (New York, 1948), especially 40-44.

(34) A version of this anecdote is told by Jerónimo de Alcalá in El donado hablador Alonso, mozo de muchos amos (Segunda parte, 1626); see BAE XVIII: Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, I, ed. Cayetano Rosell (Madrid, 1851), 568b-569a.

(35) 'Psyllus. I serve Apelles, who feedeth me, as Diogenes doth Manes; for at dinner the one preacheth abstinence, the other commendeth counterfeiting: when I would eat meate, he paints a spit, and when I thirst, «O» saith he, «is not this a faire pot?» and points to a table which containes the banquet of the gods, where are many

dishes to feed the eye, but not to fill the gut [etc.]'(Campaspe, ed. Hunter, 1991, 61-62).

(36) See Parte diecinueve de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España (Madrid, 1663), fol. 154ᵛ.

(37) '«Juan Rana» se retrata', in Homenaje al Profesor Rodríguez-Moñino 2 vols (Madrid, 1966), I, 65-73.

(38) In Ramillete de entremeses y bailes ed. Hannah Bergman (Madrid: Castalia, 1970), 323-33.

(39) First printed in 1663. Text used: Varias poesías (Seville, 1770?), no pagination. The instructions Juan Rana receives are as follows: 'Este papel en la mano/ tomad, y así al descuidillo/ tened levantado el brazo,/ y el otro aquí a la cintura,/ con mucha gracia arqueado;/ ahora estáis famoso'(sixth page); the double meaning of gracia is clearly deliberate here. Juan Rana says that 'postura es de Zampapalo [ie. comilón, tragón]'. The painter's instructions regarding the correct facial expression are interesting, and probably echo those given to a host of sitters: 'Poned el rostro derecho,/ entre alegre, y mesurado'.

(40) Le Ballet Royal des Arts (1663): 'Quatre peintres grotesques, suivis de leurs valets, avec quatre dames ridicules qui vont se faire peindre, dansent cette entrée d'une manière plaisante et bizarre'; there follows a comic dialogue in song between Apelles and Zeuxis. See Les Contemporains de Molière 3 vols, ed. Victor Fournel (Paris, 1863, 1866 and 1875), II, 541-55.

(41) Arlequin Misanthrope, comédie in Evariste Gherardi (compiler), Le Théâtre Italien 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1695), III, 106-12, especially 112.

(42) In Parte primera de los donayres de Tersícore (Madrid, 1663), fols 56ʳ-60ᵛ.

(43) In Parte treinta y seis: Comedias escritas por los mejores ingenios de España (Madrid, 1671), 441-73.

(44) In Parte cuarenta de comedias nuevas de diversos autores (Madrid, 1675), fols 1ʳ-18ʳ. 'Zárate' was in fact a pseudonym of Antonio Enríquez Gómez, see Wilson/Moir, 138.

(45) I have recently submitted for publication a study (appended to this thesis) of the falling-portrait device in the comedia.

Conclusions.

This thesis grew out of the conviction that the notion of the portrait and the real portrait were in some way essential to a fuller understanding of the theory and the mechanics of the comedia. Simon Vosters has set out some useful guidelines for assessing 'la influencia que la pintura ejerció en el teatro' and 'la deuda que el arte tiene con la comedia', and his comments are perceptive.[1] While heeding his warning that an exploration of relations between literature and the plastic arts is 'una actividad a la vez atractiva y peligrosa'(31), I hope I have managed to avoid vague, subjective comparisons in favour of identifiable points of contact. Phrases like 'la teatralidad del barroco' and statements like 'cada forma trentina dibuja la idea del ser real que representa' need careful handling and constant re-evaluation.[2] For this reason, and others, I have deliberately avoided all reference to things Tridentine, Mannerist and Baroque. I have set myself specific targets, guided by the valuable research of scholars like Simon Vosters and Julián Gállego (whose timely reassessment of 'realism' and 'symbolism' in Spanish painting of the seventeenth century concurs with some of my own conclusions). Vosters does not examine the retrato metaphor in the dramatic theory of the period, and he refers to only a handful of plays (some by Lope, but with the main focus on Calderón); on the basis that the lesser exponents of a genre tend to give the best insights into its basic forms and conventions, I have widened the scope of my investigation.

In a context of self-conscious exploration of new terms to describe new art for new times, apologists for the comedia eventually discarded the dechado and espejo as viable metaphors, and fixed on the painting metaphor, especially the retrato fiel. Concurrently, a significant number of writers of literature deriving from Guzmán de Alfarache evidently followed the lead of Alemán and Barros (his prologue writer) and adopted the same metaphor. It seems highly unlikely that there was no link between these two literary events, and I have tried to trace the background to this metaphorical preference. The next, obvious question centres on what the word retrato (and its implied process) meant to writers, as far as any consensus is ever historically identifiable (in this, as in what exactly constituted a comedia). While Covarrubias records the contemporary choice of the metaphor for the comedia nueva (see my Introduction), his definition of retrato has connotations of hierarchical and exemplary subject matter:

> La figura contrahecha de alguna persona principal y de cuenta, cuya efigie y semejanza es justo quede por memoria a los siglos venideros.

Comparison with Autoridades is especially revealing; the first definition of retratar offered by the compilers is that portraiture should imitate its models as closely as possible: 'Formar la imagen de algún sujeto, que sirve de original para sacarla enteramente parecida, o en la pintura, o escultura, o gravándola'. This shift of emphasis (from portraiture as the recording of exemplary figures to portraiture as the faithful rendering of likeness) took place somewhere between 1611 and

1732, and the signs are that it was happening even as Covarrubias was writing or soon afterwards. In this context the opinion of the preacher Juan Rodríguez de León offers useful clues. Printed at the close of Carducho's Diálogos, his is one of the depositions made in support of certain tax exemptions for painters. He sees the development of portraiture as a gradual progress towards greater naturalism:

> Siendo en los retratos tan igual la semejanza, que parece que la opinión de Pitagoras de la migración de las almas, busca fundamentos en lo copiado de las pinturas: cuyos dibujos modernos se adelantan hoy a los primores antiguos. (fol. 221ᵛ)

Even allowing for the fact that he has an axe to grind on behalf of painting, we can glimpse here a standard by which modern portraiture was to be judged: the 'semejanza igual'. Writing in 1715, Antonio Palomino sees close and constant reference to the original as a key feature of Velázquez' work:

> Diéronle el nombre de segundo Carabagio [sic], por contrahacer en sus obras al natural felizmente, y con tanta propriedad, teniéndole delante para todo, y en todo tiempo.[3]

I have suggested throughout this thesis that the retrato, when employed as a literary metaphor, came to denote naturalistic and accurate representation. When, in 1676, Antonio de Castro sets out to paint a verbal picture of vice and virtue, he is aiming at a degree of likeness that, in his opinion, would have been unattainable in the distant past; his pen will be the 'pincel leal' that will show 'por el verdadero retrato su original'.[4]

Julián Gállego has demonstrated convincingly that portraiture did not cease to have symbolic content just because a greater degree of accuracy than before was sought

and expected.[5] Both the <u>comedia</u> and <u>Guzmán</u>-inspired literature were self-consciously stylized representations and yet their authors advertised them as faithful images of their subjects. The <u>comedia</u> is polymetric, it condenses action (<u>cifrar</u>), the <u>gracioso</u> often punctures the willing suspension of disbelief with a mocking reference to the artifice in which he participates.[6] On the other hand, as Jack Sage and others have indicated, the <u>comedia</u> explores the tensions and contradictions that existed in contemporary society, even as it subscribes - or sometimes appears to subscribe - to the status quo (see above, p. 219: note 70). For the generation of 1620 the <u>comedia</u> could not be described any more as a <u>dechado</u> or <u>claro espejo</u>, because drama was no longer essentially a model of conduct; life, in all its variety, was the model, and drama was an artist's version of it, created through a considered process involving imitation and invention which writers liked to compare with the filing of metal objects, or <u>limar</u>. That painting was viewed as a process that involved constant cross-reference with the model and adjustment of the image is implied in this example from Lope's play <u>El ausente en el lugar</u> (<u>Acad.N.</u> XI; probably 1606):

> <u>Fisberto</u>. No es de las [damas] que hizo a prisa
> la varia naturaleza.
> Aquí detuvo el pincel,
> hizo, deshizo, quitó;
> todo el arte puso en él.(406)

The adoption of the painting metaphors: writer as <u>pintor</u>, pen as <u>pincel</u>, words as <u>colores</u>, play as <u>pintura</u> and <u>retrato</u>, not only borrows the painter's long-established and potent mystique but also invites identification with the process of

painting from sketch through to completed painting, with its perspective effects and its impact: as Ricardo del Turia says 'una tabla o lienzo de una vez ofrece cuanto tiene'. Painting may suit the choleric Spanish temperament, as Turia argues, but it also requires effort to be understood properly, as this example, also from Lope's theatre, suggests:

> Alejandro. Fabio: de amigos, de ingenios,
> de mujeres y pinturas
> no se ha de juzgar tan presto.
> De amigos, porque son falsos;
> de ingenios, porque son nuevos;
> de pinturas, porque tienen
> difícil conocimiento;
> de mujeres, porque muchas...
> Fabio. No lo digas; ya te entiendo.
> Alejandro. Son hermosura sin alma.[7]

It follows that painting, as perceived by some writers, is both easy and, at the same time, difficult to interpret: this tallies perfectly with the multi-level appeal of the comedia. Compare Alemán's not necessarily rhetorical invitation to the discerning reader of Guzmán to look beyond what is written: 'mucho dejé de escribir, que te escribo' and Barros' implication of 'lejos y sombras' in the book (see above, pp. 115-16). I suggested in my first chapter that there was a growing tendency among more knowledgeable people to look beyond the likeness achieved in portraiture and other types of painting, and to focus on the skill and the style of the artist. This critical process is recorded in some plays, where we see people evaluating the quality of the artwork. It is a safe assumption that poets and dramatists, by emphasizing parallels with painting, may well have sought some of the credit given so regularly to the raro/docto pintor, just as painters wanted the liberal-art prestige accorded to poets

(witness Carducho's tendentious praise of contemporary writers, including playwrights, and Calderón's relegation of all the traditional liberal arts to a rank below painting: 'tan Arte de los[sic] Artes').[8] In this context, the ever-popular anecdotes testifying to the compelling illusions of truth painted by Apelles took on an added significance, while (as far as I can tell) Zeuxis and his ideal composite beauty were relegated to an emphatically second place. This may be yet another indicator of the growing tendency to view painting more as accurate representation than idealization.

The question of artistic and poetic licence was an area that painters, dramatists and poets felt needed contesting. Their argument was that if you showed Nature accurately and with skilful invention, you had fulfilled your responsibilities as an artist: pintar bien. Your work, while it should not be immoral, did not need to point up the moral lesson for those without 'sano entendimiento'. Around 1600 Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos stresses that some of the responsibility (and probably more than some) lies with the consumer, when he counters Seneca's condemnation of painters as 'ministros de lujuria'. His first argument is the standard one, that painting instils 'todo género de virtudes morales y Teológicas', while his second argument hints at more 'modern' lines of justification:

> Lo otro, porque si estas artes imitan a lo que cría la naturaleza, ¿cómo se puede decir que son malas, ni que se ocupan en cosas malas? Si el traslado siendo conforme al original es malo, forzosamente se sigue que lo ha de ser el original: y por el consiguiente siendo malas estas artes se sigue un absurdo grandísimo, que lo será también la naturaleza a quien trasladan. Si son deshonestas por imitar las cosas más hermosas della:

también se sigue otro absurdo, que las cosas mientras más hermosas fueren serían peores. Finalmente si yo me incito a mal viendo una mujer hermosa, diría bien Séneca: no haya mujeres hermosas porque incitan a mal no estando en ellas la culpa, sino en mi mala vista, que debiendo por este camino alabar a Dios le ofendo. Pues si así es, con evidencia se muestra cuán errado está Séneca. Bien es verdad, que la causa de caer Séneca en este error, pudo nacer de algunos actos venéreos deshonestos y lascivos, que se pintarían en su tiempo y de Nerón Claudio su dicípulo [...] Pero con todo esto aunque fuese así, tuvo poco advertimiento y consideración Séneca en echar las culpas y vicios de los hombres a las artes que de suyo son buenas.(Noticia, 198-99)

Here is a counter-argument applicable to those who compared drama with obscene paintings (see my Chapter 3); but, more than that, an important artistic principle is being, if not stated, adumbrated: art that is distorted into preaching is out of date. As Barreda concludes, with reference to the comedia, the theatre is not a court or a pulpit: 'baste que aconseje como amigo, sin que amenace como juez'.

Vicente Carducho is a mine of information on what he calls 'la docta pintura'(eg. fol. 33ᵛ), which is achieved 'con continuados discursos y raciocinaciones'(fol. 43ᵛ); the 'docto pintor' is set against the mere 'copiadores'(fol. 40ᵛ); he explains why he thinks that great artists were not portrait painters:

> Pues el que lo [retratador] ha de ser se ha de sujetar a la imitación del objeto malo o bueno, sin más discurrir ni saber, lo cual no podrá hacer sino con mucha violencia de su Minerva el que tuviere habituado el entendimiento y vista a buenas proporciones y formas.(fol. 52ʳ⁻ᵛ)

At one point the 'disciple' makes the following proposition: 'la Pintura tanto es buena cuanto imita a la Naturaleza, copiando las cosas con colores semejantes a ella, hasta que se parezcan'(fol. 56ʳ); a note in the margin states that this is

a 'falsa proposición'. Deceiving the onlooker with a painted image is no mean achievement, but this is not 'la docta pintura', which is 'de muy más superior jerarquía' (fol. 56ᵛ). Portraiture of powerful clients involves prudence, and both Carducho and Calderón (in Darlo todo y no dar nada) make this point.[9] As a literary metaphor, however, retrato denotes a commendably faithful likeness, and expresses the main ambition of the writer. How can these different standards be reconciled? Two explanations present themselves: the first, that Carducho's stance was going out of fashion in relation to new criteria; the second, that Carducho's represents the viewpoint of the specialist as distinct from, but co-existing with, the popular consensus. There seems little doubt that in Spain, as in other European countries, portraiture was becoming more (what we would call) realistic, and concerned with the reproduction of individual features (and the character behind them): this is among the opening points that Calderón makes in his Deposition of 1677.[10] Martin Soria, referring to Spanish sculpture, summarizes the transition:

> From about 1525 onwards the Renaissance in Spain began to give way to Mannerism. As in Italy, Mannerism lasted until about 1595 [...] It finally became shallow and almost unintelligible, provoking a Baroque reaction towards a new rationality and a new realism.[11]

George Kubler discusses the 'new realistic manner' of painting in the seventeenth century, and the 'realism' of Velázquez that 'ennobles nature'(220 and 251). Ana Marie Beamud has maintained that 'in spite of the emphasis on naturalness, the Golden-Age portrait [in Spain] was necessarily an idealizing genre'.[12] This premise holds good for portraiture of the

wealthy and powerful, but generally people's expectations were altering. Around 1600 stylized and idealized portraiture was, if not on the wane, at least being reassessed: as López de Ubeda has Justina assert, 'Tan bien se vende una pintura fea, si es con arte'; his meaning is more than metaphorical. How does this affect our understanding of the comedia, of the 'picaresque', and also of poetic pintura? The evidence points to trends without, in the end, being conclusive. The poetic pintura, which may never have reflected portraiture anyway, survives and prospers as a verbal game, its inherent potential for parody developing into a genre of its own. The retrato fiel of Guzmán spawns a whole genre of exposé-literature, some of which employs the techniques of caricature (the figura); Rodrigo Fernández de Ribera's Mesón del Mundo of 1631, as 'pintura' and 'retrato', is typical in this respect.[13] The comedia, no longer definable as a mirror, combines different measures of stylized and accurate portrayal, depending on the play and the writer. Contemporary English definitions of drama persist with the mirror analogue while Corneille, in the French theatre, gives his own interpretation to the painting metaphor.[14] The great scholar Erich Auerbach made the point that 'not even the term «realistic» is unambiguous', while Julián Gállego points out quite rightly that the adjective 'realista', like the noun 'realismo', is a nineteenth-century coining: 'no existía en tiempos de Velázquez (lo que indica que no era necesario)'[15] We certainly cannot know, or define in relation to our own criteria of realism, exactly what a Spanish writer of the 1620s understood or meant by the term

retrato fiel; but placing the metaphor in its context, and comparing it with less-favoured and discarded options, can provide useful clues: this is what I have set out to do.

Considering Shakespeare's treatment of painting themes, W. Moelwyn Merchant comes to some useful conclusions:

> Painting, like the craft of the actor 'whose end both at first and now, was and is, to hold as t'were the Mirrour up to Nature', may be the sincere exploration of the surface of reality to reveal the operation of God's art; it may, on the other hand, be fiction and counterfeit, in the figurative meanings of those terms [...] The terms of Elizabethan aesthetic, fiction, imitation, counterfeit, mimicry, and artifice, are used by Shakespeare, as we should expect, with dramatic flexibility, and a conscious awareness of their double edge. While using their various meanings with technical accuracy within the restricted sphere of art, he relates their ambiguity to his deeper concern with illusion and truth, appearance and reality.(Shakespeare and the Artist, 11-12)

The treatment of painting and portraiture in the Spanish comedia corresponds with much of this. The portraits used or referred to on the stage are invariably identifiable with their model, or dueño, and only Lope explores the comic potential of the possibility that they might not be so accurate. This may tell us more about the dramatic convention than it tells us about portraiture: the convention of the identifiable image exists in early Chinese theatre, where one would expect portraiture to be habitually stylized. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano hints at something which history and logic tell us: that portraiture was not invariably an accurate version of the truth.[16] It is strange that portraits are criticized in the theatre only because they fall short of the real person, not because they distort or flatter the sitter. One of the few portraits that does not resemble the sitter is

Apelles' image of Campaspe, in Lope's earliest treatment of the story, and here the painter's failure is explained by his infatuation (see my Chapter 8). And yet we see portraits being evaluated, and the sitter's character being interpreted, even if sometimes in a very rudimentary way. In El prodigioso príncipe transilvano (1597-1602, probably by Luis Vélez de Guevara) a portrait is said to convey 'brava barba, catadura [Covarrubias: «rostro fiero»] y talle', with the conclusion that 'viene muy al natural'.[17] Covarrubias offers two definitions of talle:

> Es la forma que se da a cada cosa, la cual se perficiona tallando lo superfluo della. Hombre de buen talle, es lo mesmo que gentilhombre y agraciado.

The word talle also meant, among other things, 'build' or 'stature'. Although, following the second (and more neutral) of Covarrubias' definitions, the sitter's clothes would have denoted his social rank, the more likely interpretation of the comments in this case is that the portrait has captured the sitter's physique and the three-dimensional quality of that physique, differing in this respect from the two-dimensional treatment of everything below the neck that one can observe (for example) in plenty of Tudor portraiture.

In the comedia, as in contemporary poetry and fiction, we see the likeness confirmed, and the painter's skill being assessed: the quality of the pincel, aspects like fuerza and valentía. This must reflect the way people actually approached the business of assessing portraiture. Two possible answers present themselves: that the dramatic convention of the lifelike portrait, which pre-dated the

development towards more accurate portraiture taking place in the early seventeenth century, carried on unaffected by the likelihood that a portrait could just as soon be inaccurate as accurate; alternatively, the convention which was originally based on an untruth came in time to reflect the truth - that most portraiture, which the people who commissioned it were prepared to accept (for the purpose of love tokens and arranged marriages), now met higher standards than before; then, once the image is recognized as accurate, the client and the observer are free to consider the means used to achieve the end result, and evaluate the painter's skill and his style. In short, the assumption shared by dramatists and their audiences that the portrait and sitter could be easily matched points the scholar in at least two directions, as this example from Luis Vélez de Guevara shows:

> [The Infanta Isabel contemplates the portrait of king Juan of Castile, who arrives halfway through her conversation with a lady-in-waiting]
>
> Isabel. Que engaña mucho un retrato
> y a ser hombre hiciera yo
> lo mismo.
> [...]
> María. El retrato a vuestra Alteza
> podrá mostrar si es él.
>
> (Mira el retrato la infanta)
>
> Isabel. María[,] venció el pincel
> la misma naturaleza[;]
> el Rey es.[18]

Are we dealing here with a theatrical convention, or a pictorial fact, or a degree of both? The evidence I have explored leads to the third of these options, with significant emphasis on the faithful portrait as the vehicle of truth. The portrait here could be deceptive, but like nearly every

other one in the comedia, it proves to be a reliable likeness.

The device of amor por el retrato presents the same problem for the scholar: it predated what we would consider accurate portraiture, and was still a central feature of drama well into the eighteenth century. In a play by Santiago Garro, entitled Comedia nueva, músicos, amo, y criado, y el amor por el retrato and composed between 1725 and 1750, we see the maid offer to a lovesick gallant a portrait of her mistress which was painted for an arranged marriage ('para casarla en Sevilla') with a man who then died.[19] The portrait is then dropped inadvertently in the street, and Henrique the musician falls in love with the lady portrayed:

> Pimienta. ¿Y qué harás con conocerla?
> Henrique. Declararla que la adoro,
> Y pedir que de mí se duela.(4b)

He then sees the lady in person: '¡Vive Dios, que es uno mesmo,/ retrato, y original!/ ¡y aún el pincel fue grosero!'(6b), and he finally weds her. This sequence of events, and the language in which it is couched, could have been written in 1590 or even before. Why, therefore, is this portrait device so persistent? Carmen Bravo-Villasante has suggested that recourse to this device and variations like amar sin saber a quién constituted a literary game, intended to amuse consumers with debates on the mysterious power of love.[20] In normal circumstances cognition must precede love, so perhaps the portrait came in time to be considered capable of providing a certain degree of knowledge: it could only do this if it were an accurate representation. Alternatively, the device was incorporated because it had a proven popularity

with audiences, even if it bore scant resemblance to real life. These two conclusions may or may not be reconcilable in the end. Bances Candamo, in Por su Rey, y por su dama, seems intent on making the portrait convey enough information, besides the lady's likeness, for his gallant's love to be credible in the circumstances.[21] Whether concern for dramatic 'realism' or evidence of contemporary portraiture provoked these scruples is a matter for speculation.

The fact remains, as I hope this thesis has demonstrated, that the theme of portraiture preoccupied (and in some cases, obsessed) a large proportion of dramatists, and their audiences, from the 1590s onwards, and well into the eighteenth century. A great many comedias hinge on themes related to painting and, to a lesser degree, sculpture. Of the dramatists, Lope and Tirso (and later, Calderón) are the most inventive in their exploration of the mysterious and ambiguous shared ground between reality and the illusion of art, and between the natural and the artificial: the falling-portrait device, particularly in Tirso's versions, exploits the retrato vivo as both conceit and fact. It is Tirso, too, who (in El vergonzoso en palacio) draws a parallel between the acted play and the painted portrait. Similarly Lope, in Lo fingido verdadero (c.1608) has Ginés 'painting' his part in the 'imagen de la vida'.[22] It is no surprise to find that terms like 'matices' and 'finos coloridos' eventually found their way into the jargon used to describe the acting process, perhaps even as early as the 1630s.[23] The 'colores que el demonio sabe dar' which so infuriated those who opposed the

actor's art in the early seventeenth century (see above, p. 198) became the colours of 'la declamación teatral'. For the 'lopistas' the comedia was both retrato and pintura, vivo and fiel, but not dechado or espejo (even though the mirror remained very popular in plays both as a stage property and as a metaphor); the tableau vivant was emblematic pintura, while real portraits and the portrait as a conceit lay at the heart of a large number of plays. In this context the charismatic maker of compelling illusions - the painter (whether as Apelles or as his modern counterpart) - is presented as a skilled and cultured person with 'raro aviso', that is: an insight into the workings of Nature the Painter and God the Artist. In some cases the painter in the comedia could be seen as the dramatist's projection of himself as illusionist (since the figure of the dramatist does not seem to feature in the comedia): Frederick de Armas has interpreted Lope's references to Apelles in this light.[24] As the painter's illusions of truth became more compelling, with the development of more accurate, searching and individualistic portraiture, it is likely that praise of his work became less rhetorical in origin. This did not prevent, and may well have contributed to, his eventually being caricatured as the creator of the retrato vivo, whereby the fascination (and even intimidation) provoked by the painter's 'divinos traslados' is sublimated through comedy.[25]

Conclusions - Notes

(1) Simon Vosters, 'El intercambio...', 1981, 15 and 27.

(2) See Emilio Orozco Díaz, El teatro y la teatralidad del Barroco (Barcelona, 1969) passim, and José Camón Aznar, 'La iconografía en el arte trentino', RIE V (1947), 385-94, especially 393.

(3) Antonio Palomino, El museo pictórico, 1715, III, 323.

(4) Antonio de Castro, Fisonomía de la virtud, y del vicio. Al natural sin colores, ni artificios (Valladolid, 1676), 2-3. Compare: 'El intento deste discurso es, pintar, así las propias facciones de la virtud, como la figura del vicio [...] Para acertar con su propio conocimiento se requieren muy medidos los colores de la imagen, habiendo de corresponder con el original el retrato [...] Los Pintores primeros del mundo, en los rudimentos de su Arte pintaban con tal impropiedad, que no tenía que ver la pintura con lo pintado [...] Se trasladan sus colores [de la virtud] a la cara del vicio: que los afeitados matices del vicio se pintan en la hermosura de la virtud'(1-3). Note how the double value attaching to the word color persists (the need to paint with colours, if they are true, but also without them, if they are false), and how the pejorative associations of afeite prevail.

(5) Visión y símbolos, 1972, 3 and 325-26.

(6) See, for example, Sturgis E. Leavitt, 'Notes on the gracioso as a Dramatic Critic', SP XXVIII (1931), 847-50, and Carmen Bravo-Villasante, 'La realidad de la ficción, negada por el gracioso', RFE XXVIII (1944), 264-68.

(7) La boba para los otros, y discreta para sí (Acad.N. XI: around 1630), 483.

(8) See Alan K.G. Paterson, 'Calderón's «Deposición en favor de los profesores de la pintura»: Comment and Text', in Art and Literature in Spain: 1600-1800. Studies in honour of Nigel Glendinning, ed. Charles Davies and Paul Julian Smith (London: Tamesis, 1993), 153-66; this reference, 160.

(9) 'En todo se debe guardar cierto decoro prudencial, no igualando el sujeto del hombre particular con el del Señor, ni el del Señor con el del grande Príncipe'(Diálogos, 1633, fol. 109ᵛ). For a good discussion of the painting competition in Calderón's play, see Simon Vosters, 'El intercambio...', 1981, 22.

(10) 'No contenta con sacar parecida la exterior superficie de todo el universo, [la pintura] elevó sus diseños a la interior pasión del ánimo, pues en la posición de las facciones del hombre (racional mundo pequeño), llegó su destreza aun a copiarle el alma [...]; de suerte que retratado en el rostro el corazón, nos demuestra en sus afectos, aun más parecido el corazón que el rostro' (Paterson, 1993, 159-60).

(11) In Kubler and Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal, 1959, 131.

(12) See The Invisible Icon: Poetry about portraiture in the Spanish Golden Age, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Duke University, 1980, 7.

(13) Lope de Vega writes in his 'censura' that 'es admirable en la agudeza, discreto en el estilo, y singularmente festivo en la pintura de los sucesos, y personas que introduce', while the author describes his book as 'este retrato' and puns on the word 'original' when referring to his model, the world. (Madrid, 1631, fols 3ᵛ and 139ᵛ-140ʳ).

(14) See, for example, Robert Kimbrough's article 'Tamburlaine, pt. 1: a speaking picture in a tragic glass': see Renaissance Drama, vol. 7, ed. S. Schoenbaum (London, 1964), 20-34; Kimbrough suggests that Marlowe's prologue constituted 'a manifesto of something new', departing from the 'old morality method of presentation', where Marlowe treats ambition 'with objectivity instead of as a sermon «exemplum»'(33). Thomas Randolph makes the mirror the central metaphor in his play The Muses' Looking-Glass (before 1635, in Poetical and Dramatic Works, 2 vols, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1875, I, 173-266); the glass shows you the truth: 'Roscius. The soul sees her face/ in comedy, and has no other glass'(185); the 'comic mirror' serves 'first to show our faults, and then to mend them'(186); a flatterer concludes that 'I'll to the glass, and there turn virtuous too'(259); Roscius addresses the audience in the epilogue: 'You've seen the Muses' Looking Glass [...] it is the end we meant/ yourselves unto yourselves still to present [...] Nay, come who will, for our indifferent glasses/ will show both fools and

knaves, and all their faces,/ to vex and cure them'; he concludes by stating that the audience has a fair soul, and beauteous face, and so will often visit the glass'(266). The noun glass could also be used to convey the meaning of 'exemplary model', as in phrases like 'dear glass of ladies'(Fletcher and Shakespeare, The Two Noble Kinsmen, 1613, ed. G.R. Proudfoot, Regents Renaissance Drama Series, 1970, 11: line 90), and 'a glass for maids'(Cyril Tourneur, The Revenger's Tragedy, pub. 1607, ed. G. Salgado in Three Jacobean Tragedies, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965, 123). In English literature of the period, the evidence suggests that the mirror as a literary metaphor retained its dual connotations of naturalistic and ideal representation: in Spain the balance of meaning had swung towards the ideal. In the French theatre, the painting metaphor is used as early as 1572 by Jean de la Taille, who describes his tragedy Saul le furieux as a 'portraict admirable d'un Roy': see Four Renaissance Tragedies, ed. Donald Stone, Jr (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), the epilogue, 70. Corneille, in 1639, draws explicit parallels between accurate portrayal in painting and the theatre, even if the subject is not beautiful; he later states that 'la seconde utilité du poème dramatique se rencontre en la naive peinture des vices et des vertus': see Writings on the Theatre, ed. H.T. Barnwell (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 180 and 5. For further examples of the verb peindre in his critical writings see Writings, 14, 15, 17, 19, and 26.

(15) Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature [1946], trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, New Jersey, 1974), 556. Julián Gállego, Velázquez (Madrid, 1994), 9.

(16) See above, p. 57; compare, for example, the disappointment of Henry VIII when Anne of Cleves fell short of her portrait - an experience shared, much later, by Caroline of Brunswick, wife of George IV (see David Williamson, Kings and Queens of Britain, Leicester, 1993, 123-24 and 177). Compare also Karen Hearn's 'Introduction' to Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630 (London: Tate Gallery, 1995), 14.

(17) Acad.N. I, 379b. MB conclude that this very long play is not by Lope; Courtney Bruerton (in 'La versificación dramática...') suggests both the date, and Vélez as a more likely author than Lope. For another example where a stage portrait conveys talle as well as facial likeness, see Lope's La mayor hazaña de Alejandro Magno (discussed in

Chapter 8), where Darío contemplates Alexander's image: '¡Qué buen talle de mancebo/ que tiene Alejandro! A fe/ que aunque mi contrario fue/ su gran gentileza apruebo./ Para un Adonis amante/ tiene traza ['design' in both senses: a play on words?]; pero no/ para hacer lo que intentó/ y para ser arrogante'(Acad.N. II, 410).

(18) El espejo del mundo (1606-10), published as a suelta, 6-8.

(19) Published as a suelta. I follow La Barrera's dating of Garro's activity.

(20) 'Un debate amoroso: Amar sin saber a quién', in Revista de Literatura, VII (1955), 193-99. Two widely-read books, Boccaccio's Decameron (fourth day, fourth story) and Castiglione's Book of the Courtier (trans. G. Bull, 143) contain stories of love for someone who has not been seen.

(21) The besotted Portocarrero, overcome with 'terneza', 'recato' and 'graves melancolías', describes the portrait in some detail: 'Fue un retrato, que elegante/ el pincel en lo sensible,/ lo esquivo pudo copiarle'(BAE XLIX, 371); the elegant brush has captured simultaneously the lady's sensitivity and aloofness. There is more: 'No lo digo porque pude/ del retrato enamorarme,/ que eso, aun en las farsas, tiene/ una dureza intratable:/ que me arrebató, os diré/ con verdad, por una parte/ lo valiente del pincel,/ pues dijera yo, si hallase/ el original hermoso,/ que hacer otro semejante/ no pudo naturaleza/ y vi que ha sabido el arte;/ por otra, lo peregrino/ del rostro con tal donaire,/ tal travesura en la vista,/ y tal halago en lo grave,/ que en la risa que rebosa,/ está vertiendo lo afable:/ tan transparente la tez,/ que en el cándido semblante/ está el tacto de los ojos/ distinguiendo lo suave'(371). The painter is credited here with conveying his sitter's mischievous good humour as well as the texture of her skin; when she appears onstage, she is as lively and quickwitted as her image has suggested: in fact, Portocarrero later states that her laughter and defiance are qualities that have intensified his infatuation (375). Bances clearly wanted the amor por el retrato to be believable, and the potential of portraiture to be underlined in the process.

(22) 'Ginés. Ya/ de ver deseoso está [el emperador]/ cómo imito lo que siento;/ pero en tanta propriedad/ no me parece razón/ que llamen imitación/ lo que es la misma verdad:/ comedia es mi voluntad,/ poeta el entendimiento/ de la fábula

que intento,/ donde con versos famosos/ pinta los pasos forzosos/ que ha dado mi pensamiento. [...] Camila. Ya tienes la comedia prevenida./ Diocleciano. Pues di, Camila, que lo está el oído/ para escuchar la imagen de la vida.'(Acad. IV, 58b and 60b).

(23) See Fermín Eduardo Zeglirscosac, Ensayo sobre el origen y naturaleza de las pasiones, de gesto y de la acción teatral, con un discurso preliminar en defensa del exercicio cómico (Madrid, 1800): 'La representación misma consiste en una buena declamación de los papeles, con todos los matices, y con toda la acción y juego mudo, que exigen las situaciones, y la expresión propia de cada pasión [...] Es necesario que [el actor] tenga bastante inteligencia para dominar con facilidad los más finos coloridos de los caracteres'('Discurso preliminar', viii and ix); for other references to the coloridos of acting, see 116 and 121. The writer also draws a parallel between the actor and 'el Poeta [que] tiene el arte de revestirse de una pasión, y de pintarla con variedad sin sentirla': this is interpreted as 'una prueba de ingenio'(ix). Zeglirscosac implies in his introduction that nobody before him has tried to 'formar un Arte metódico sobre la Declamación Teatral'; however true this may be, he was almost certainly drawing on long-standing oral traditions, and the painting terminology he applied to acting was, unlike the modern meaning of the word caracteres, evidently not new. Around 1615 in England, a writer (probably John Webster) composed a character sketch in the style of Sir Thomas Overbury on the subject of 'An excellent Actor', declaring that 'he is much affected to painting, and 'tis a question whether that make him an excellent player, or his playing an excellent painter'(The Overburian Characters, ed. W.J. Paylor, Oxford, 1936), xix-xxiv and 76-78, especially 77). This is apparently the reverse side of Shakespeare's caustic 'well-painted passion'(Othello). Acting in England was evidently evaluated in terms of painting.

(24) Frederick de Armas: 'Para Lope de Vega, pues, la figura de Apeles no es meramente el locus classicus del pintor por excelencia, sino que sirve para clarificar las bases de su arte y su concepto del puesto y papel del artista, sea éste poeta o pintor, en la sociedad', in 'Pintura y poesía: la presencia de Apeles en el teatro de Lope de Vega', Lope de Vega y los orígenes del teatro español: Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional sobre Lope de Vega, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid, 1981), 719-32, especially 732.

(25) I quote the phrase from Baltasar del Alcázar (1530-1606), 'Al retrato de Francisco de Pacheco', in Poesías ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid, 1910), 224.

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Section 1. Spanish Golden-Age drama.

Section 2. Other Golden-Age sources, foreign literature of the period and classical sources.

Section 3. Modern criticism.

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Appendix: The Portrait that Comes to Life on the Spanish Golden-Age Stage.

In this paper I shall focus on a specific theatrical device which made its debut in the Spanish comedia around 1605, and which all three major dramatists (Lope, Tirso and Calderón) incorporated into their plays. The device of the stage portrait that comes to life is at least as old as the commedia dell'arte, and comic scenes where characters, for various reasons, pretend to be images of themselves, or where miniature figures (usually children) emerge from portraits and walk from the stage, are occasional features of Siglo de Oro drama.[1] I shall concentrate on a more serious variation, whereby the portrait falls from the wall to impede, intimidate and even attack a particular person: the device that is designated in texts by the words 'cae el retrato', and often with the further instructions 'y tápale la puerta'.

My interest in the migration and modification of the falling-portrait device is part of a much wider programme of research into the use of the retrato vivo (or living portrait), as both stage property and as metaphor in the comedia. I have recently brought together my findings in a thesis which explores in depth an issue which I think lies at the heart not only of Golden-Age theatre, but of Golden-Age fiction as well. I shall refer to some of my conclusions in my analysis of the falling-portrait device in Tirso's hands, where the treatment of the episode

includes a whole range of improvements on his probable source. I shall also deal briefly with several later versions which depart from Tirso's example in some respects, while adding new features, as the device moves into the realm of melodrama. Here is the text of the episode in La prudencia en la mujer, which Tirso composed some time between 1621 and 1623:

Ismael. El niño rey está aquí;
que beba su muerte trato.

(Quiere entrar, y esté sobre la puerta el retrato de la reina, de viuda)

Mas ¡cielos! ¿No es el retrato
este de su madre? Sí.
No sin causa me acobarda
la traición que juzgo incierta,
pues puso el Rey a su puerta
su misma madre por guarda.
¡Vive Dios, que estoy temblando
de miralla, aunque pintada!
¿No parece que enojada,
muda, me está amenazando?
¿No parece que en los ojos
forja rayos enemigos,
que amenazan mis castigos
y autorizan sus enojos?
No me miréis, reina, airada.
[...]
No es mi traición tan culpada:
tened la ira vengativa.
¡Qué hiciérades a estar viva,
pues que me asombráis pintada!
Mas, ¿para qué doy lugar
a cobardes desvaríos?
[...]
muera el rey, [...]

(Quiere entrar, cae el retrato, y tápale la puerta)

Pero el retrato cayó,
y me ha cerrado la puerta.
Dichoso el vulgo ha llamado
al judío, reina hermosa;
[...]
Riesgo corro manifiesto,
si no huyo de aquí...

(Quiere entrar por la otra puerta, y sale la reina, detiénele, y él se turba)

Reina. ¿Qué es esto?
¿De qué estáis descolorido?

[Ismael is flustered, and denies treachery]

Culpado, Ismael, está
quien sin ocasión se escusa.
Ismael. El infante es el ingrato,
que yo no le satisfice;
y si el retrato lo dice,
engañaráse el retrato.[2]

Some will know the plot very well, but for the benefit of others less familiar with this accomplished play, the story centres on Queen María, the widow of Sancho IV of Castile and Aragón, who strives and manages to preserve the throne for her son Ferdinand, in the face of treachery and rebellion. Indeed, together with the word prudencia, the verb amparar ('to protect') is constantly employed to underline one of the play's major themes. Scholars have pointed out that Tirso probably derived his version from a rambling but nonetheless eventful play by Damián del Poyo, written around 1605.[3] Del Poyo, in turn, seems to have produced a version 'a lo humano' (so to speak) of a Marian image-miracle story.[4] Tirso takes from his apparent source the notion of a protective portrait, which thwarts a murder attempt by a Jewish physician, blocking his way and threatening him in the process (in del Poyo's version the words used are: 'parece que se demuda/ y me amenaza si paso'). In del Poyo's version the 'golpe de retrato' is described by the would-be murderer as a bad omen ('mal agüero'), while the king whose life is saved attributes

this prodigious event to God.

So what kind of image was intended? Del Poyo makes it clear that the portrait is a 'retrato grande' and has his king state that the fallen portrait is 'en la puerta atravesado', and so it seems fair to conclude that he envisaged a life-size canvas, or lienzo. Portraits in the comedia come in a range of sizes, from the miniature joyel (so small as to be hidden in the hand), to the naipe (a word which also meant a playing card, and these were larger than our modern cards). The naipe, then, was about the size of a modern paperback, and painted on card: it was carried loose, close to the heart, and was often wrapped in taffeta; in several Golden-Age *plays these* naipes are torn up by offended ladies and jilted gallants.[5] Next up in size came the tabla or wooden panel: in a play by the Valencian Guillén de Castro a portrait on a tabla is first 'discovered' and then mysteriously swivels to be replaced by an image of a sword.[6] Then came the lienzo, which (judging by the example of the full-length, life-size portraits painted in the 1630s by Velázquez) usually measured about six feet, by three and a half feet: large enough, in its frame, to block a stage entrance. Velázquez' portrait of the Court Jester Calabazas, painted around 1628, is interesting in this context, since the image which measures 69 by 42 inches (175 by 107 centimetres) shows the jester with an oval portrait miniature (measuring about seven by five centimetres) in his hand.[7]

Both del Poyo and Tirso prefigure the falling-portrait

device, but in different ways. While the earlier dramatist develops a serious background of sorcery (centering on the legendary Marquis of Villena) and combines this with a comic parody of reliance on the protection afforded by religious imagery, Tirso develops the themes of Queen María as both protective lioness and as all-seeing Argos.[8] Before we see her portrait hanging over the fateful doorway, Tirso has emphasized that she, a native of León, will behave like an enraged lioness ('leona ofendida': 12) if her young son's life is threatened. In an apparently unrelated scene we then see Juan de Benavides, whose coat-of-arms includes a lion, suggest that the lion over the entrance to his house ('que la puerta tenía': 23) roared in his absence at an offence done to his honour. In other words, the painting or sculpture of a lion comes to life to protect the interests of the person it represents; in this scene the image that comes to life is a conceit, while in the later scene of the falling portrait it is a fact.

Tirso opens the second act of his play with the portrait of Queen María already in place over the doorway, and consequently the queen in the image 'witnesses' the conspiracy to murder her son. Elsewhere in the play Tirso underlines the queen's uncanny capacity to see and know everything: in this way, statements like 'todo la reina lo sabe' and 'mirad que la reina os oye' (51 and 58) take on more than their literal meaning, especially since there is no indication in the text that the queen's portrait is removed from the stage after it has fallen to protect her

son. Tirso's artistry is evident everywhere, as he adds layers of symbolism and allusion to the central notion of the miraculous, living royal image. The queen's name links her with the Virgin Mary, and Tirso points up this link in several places, referring to the queen as a saint, and to the items of headgear that she is forced to pawn as relics (55 and 48). It also happens that the Roman God Janus, whose image was placed over doorways, and who was deemed capable of seeing the future as well as the past, was explicitly linked with the virtue of Prudence by Andreas Alciatus; this connection would not be worth so much consideration were it not for the fact that Gracián's use of the phrase 'Janos de prudencia' (around 1650) has the proverbial quality of a received idea.[9] Tirso certainly had access to the same cultural reservoire.

Turning to the mechanics of the scene itself, it is possible to identify key features of Tirso's treatment: the tense 'dialogue' between Ismael and the queen's portrait before it falls, the virtual invitation to 'act': to be <u>viva</u> rather than <u>pintada</u>, the attempt to placate the portrait with flattery, and most importantly, the blocking of the escape route by the queen in person once her image has closed off one exit; it is not clear whether 'detiénele' means that she grabs him or that she merely blocks this doorway as her portrait had blocked the other. The text says that Ismael has lost his colour: in the context of the scene, this cannot be a coincidental choice of words. Tirso has made the portrait's victim

'descolorido', while the portrait has spoken: 'si el retrato lo dice'. This is quite clearly a pun, and a reversal of roles, which Tirso then goes on to reinforce when Ismael's dead body is discovered by his co-conspirator; here the corpse is silent and yet it speaks: 'mudo dice que soy el traidor'(51). This, and other scenes in the play, invite the audience to contemplate silent images, whether of the monarch or of a traitor, as speaking pictures, as portraiture that is alive, as a retrato vivo.[10]

There is a comparable episode where a portrait falls in another play, La firmeza en la hermosura (c.1620-22), which is probably by Tirso:

> Conde. Guiad vos, amor, mis pasos:
> ¿qué cuadro es éste que he visto,
> que está guardándola [sic] el sueño?
>
> (Quiere entrar, y detiénese viendo sobre la puerta el retrato de don Juan.)
>
> La imagen de don Juan miro
> valientemente copiada;
> ah, joven inadvertido,
> competísteme soberbio,
> despeñástete a ti mismo.
> ¿Qué esperabas confiado
> en el liviano presidio
> de una mujer que juzgaste
> inexpugnable a los tiros
> del poder en la pobreza?
> Resistiránse al principio
> ímpetus de honor Franceses,
> que al cabo mueran [sic] vencidos.
> Vivo te juzga y te agravia,
> que en efeto siempre ha sido
> la mejor mujer, mujer,
> y el más firme vidrio, vidrio.
> No estorbarás más mi intento.
>
> (Va a entrar y cae el retrato ajustándose con la puerta, pondránle debajo peso suficiente, para que caiga, y la tape toda.)

¡Válgame Dios! Ofendido
en estatua, por la honra
vuelve el pintado del vivo.
Ajustóse con la puerta
de suerte, ¡estraño prodigio!
que parece consultado
lo que sólo fue fortuito.
¡Qué valiente es la razón!
¡Qué pusilánime el vicio!
¡Qué independente [sic] el imperio
del tálamo en su dominio!
¿Hay valor que se le atreva?
Por Dios que le estoy temblando,
cobarde su copia miro[.]
¿Qué hiciera en mí el verdàdero
cuando me asombra el fingido?
Respetemos su presencia,

(Quítase el sombrero)

deseos inadvertidos,
porque un esposo, aun en sombra,
de veneración es digno.
Esotra puerta está franca,
ciego amor, por ella os sigo,
desmientan atrevimientos
lo que malogran hechizos.

(En la puerta del otro lado esté don Juan con la espada desnuda, la punta al suelo, en cuerpo, y sin moverse)

¡Válgame el Cielo piadoso!
¡Jesús mil veces! ¿Qué he visto?
O desatina mi idea,
o mis ciegos descaminos,
para alumbrar escarmientos,
despeñándose conmigo,
ejecutor de mi muerte
me oponen al que he ofendido.
¿Allí don Juan retratado?
¿Aquí, Cielos, don Juan vivo?
¿Dos esposos en dos puertas?
¿Y en entrambas dos el mismo?
Hasta los sepulcros se abren,
adelantándome avisos,

[he thinks Don Juan is now dead]

¿y yo rebelde a los cielos,
buscando mi precipicio?

(Entrase don Juan)

> No desengaños piadosos,
> no descompuestos sentidos,
> no aduladores deseos;
> no pensamientos lascivos.
> Condesa, Engracia, criados. [11]

The portrait and the original block the two exits in this play as well. In La firmeza en la hermosura the theatrical coup of the falling image is saved until the climax of the action. The man in the picture (Juan) and Elena have exchanged promises of marriage, but the Count of Urgel has abused the power invested in him by his absent king in order to persecute Juan and force his attentions on Elena. The falling-portrait scene is given extra edge because the Count thinks that Juan is now dead. As in La prudencia en la mujer, Tirso prefigures the literal intervention of Juan's portrait by having both the Count (as the king's representative) and Elena (the focus of their desires) described in terms of images: Tirso uses words like retratar, imagen, cifra and ídolo in this context.[12] In this way, all three of the main characters are alive, and yet are also viewed in terms of portraiture, as highly-charged images invested with power through love, through the loyalty of the subject for his monarch, and through the devotion of a woman for her absent fiancé.

Once again Tirso's artistry is evident, as even the double-exit theme seems to be prefigured, when he has the lovers part and leave the stage 'por diferentes puertas' (342), with Juan claiming that Elena takes his soul away with her. Elena is forced to sew (Tirso says pointedly 'to sketch with her needle') in order to make ends meet, as she

contemplates the full-length portrait ('de cuerpo entero') of her beloved Juan which hangs over a door in one of her rooms.[13] While on the run, Juan secretly observes her devotion to his image, and swears to return and repay the obligations of his portrait: 'los empeños de esta pintura' (350). Not only he, but his portrait as well, is committed to act to repay her devotion.

We can observe in the episode where the portrait falls most of the elements which appear in the two earlier versions. The event is a strange prodigy ('extraño prodigio' - something that breaks with the natural order of things); the event also smacks of sorcery ('hechizos'). The portrait is the fiancé's coat-of-arms, or 'blasón' (356): the same word used for the heraldic lion in Tirso's other version (Prudencia, Austral edition, 23 and 24) and also acting to defend the honour of the person it represents. Tirso plays verbal games with combinations like verdadero/ fingido and vivo/ pintado. The two husbands blocking both doors are 'el mismo', recalling the comment that Queen María's portrait is 'su misma madre'.

Whereas there is no critical evaluation of Queen María's image, the Count's description of Juan's portrait as 'valientemente copiada' contains a play on words. The pose he adopts, with specific instructions not to move ('sin moverse'), shows him ready for combat, with his sword unsheathed. He therefore looks valiant, and at the same time the image is an excellent one: the term valiente was repeatedly used in art criticism with this meaning; he is

therefore 'valientemente copiado' in two distinct senses.[14] Tirso clearly intended to have Juan and his portrait look so alike as to be confused the one for the other. They might both be alive, or they might both be merely images: they are certainly 'el mismo'. It is hard to imagine this scene having the same impact without what we would call realistic portraiture, of the kind developed by (for example) Velázquez. The fact that the Count describes the painting as a statue suggests the three-dimensional qualities that Tirso had in mind. Both images are alive and lifelike, and yet the Count describes both the image and what he thinks is a vision of Juan as paintings ('pinturas'); indeed, we see him bewildered at the close of the scene with his senses in disarray ('descompuestos sentidos'). As in so many Golden-Age plays, what you see is clearly not always what you get: as Francisco Pacheco, a painter and eminent art theorist of the period, states, sight is the noblest of the senses ('el más noble sentido'), but it is also the most easily deceived ('no el más cierto sentido').[15]

How was this particular device of the falling portrait to be staged? In a version by Lope, from around 1620, an image of Eurydice falls and is yet held by two ropes ('por dos cordeles'), so that it can be raised soon afterwards when a jealous rival plans an attack on it.[16] For a theatre that was making increasing use of stage machinery this particular scene surely presented few problems: in this sense, at least, the impact of the scene on an astonished

audience (well primed by accounts of miraculous sacred imagery, and falling shields and daggers) far outweighed any technical difficulties in moving the image, and letting gravity do the rest, providing that the image (as the text of La firmeza indicates) was properly fitted with weights.[17] Anyone who has been involved in Feydeau farces will know, however, that doors on stage (to take an example) never open when they should, and seldom close properly when the action demands it. No doubt, fail-safe procedures were in place for such a vital moment as the falling of a large-scale portrait. The technical problems inherent in this stage device seem to me to lie elsewhere, and Tirso's double-image version in two plays points straight at a major hurdle: the portrait evidently had to be a lifelike representation of the character playing the part. Lope's stage instructions for his version say as much: the portrait is to be of the actress who is playing the part.[18]

A second difficulty lay in the fact that in several versions, including Calderón's, this carefully-painted lifesize portrait was to be stabbed in the course of the action. In Calderón's version, the stabbing of the portrait prefigures the subsequent stabbing, with the same dagger, of the woman it represents. The play is El mayor monstruo los celos (1634-37), known in its earlier form as El mayor monstruo del mundo.[19] One important element in Calderón's version of the falling-portrait device is his development of the idolatry theme. Mariene is 'adored' by Herod, for whom she is 'la imagen que sola admiro' (32: cf.

12). Once Octavian has become infatuated with her miniature portrait, he has her beauty copied ('repetida') on large canvases in different outfits ('en varios trajes'), and the one that falls to save his life shows her as Venus, probably in her traditional state of undress. She is therefore in two senses a goddess for him ('deidad que adoro': 44; cf. 95), and the dagger that wounds the image is indeed a 'sacrílego acero'(44). The miniature is an accurate likeness ('retrato fiel': 26), and the Venus variation 'la más parecida'(39) of the large versions; the canvas is of Mariene and of Venus at the same time, so that the portrait as the deity Venus is bound to act to defend a lover and devotee (Octavian says as much: 68), while the portrait as the mortal Mariene must undergo a 'fatal trasunto' (96) of Mariene's own, predicted death. When Octavian first sees the miniature, he remarks that 'no vi más viva hermosura/ que el alma desta pintura'(26). Apart from the added irony that at that moment Octavian thinks that Mariene is dead, Calderón has prepared the ground for a portrait which will indeed be 'vivo', and which will suffer the same 'death' as the sitter. One can perhaps glimpse a specific echo of Tirso's doña María and her falling portrait in Mariene's longing to behave 'como esposa ofendida,/ y como reina prudente [...] que como reina perdone/ y como mujer me vengue'(69). The migration of this theatrical coup was clearly a verbal as well as a visual process, with Calderón quoting both device and its thematic context from the earlier play.

From a technical point of view, the assault on a life-size portrait presented the stage manager with a few headaches. One can picture, if you will excuse my choice of expression, the anguish of a talented stage painter watching his accurate handiwork being regularly savaged, and then being summoned by the stage manager to patch the portrait up for the next performance. Perhaps his feelings were spared by resorting to some trick weaponry or a ready-made orifice.

The latest version I have found is by Juan Antonio de Moxica, in La ofensa y la venganza en el retrato (pub. 1662).[20] Briefly, the plot is as follows: in a moment of confusion two portraits are swapped and, as a result, Prince Estefano falls in love with Eugenia, a lady betrothed to another. The Prince then inadvertently drops the portrait of Eugenia, and her intended husband picks it up and reflects on the damage done to her honour by this 'mal agüero' (fol. 194^{v}). The besotted Prince continues to pester Eugenia in her fiancé's absence, and in the climactic scene (fol. 209^{r-v}), the Prince's portrait falls to prevent her going to meet her husband: 'Va a entrar por debajo de donde está colgado un retrato del Príncipe, el cual acaso se cae'. After a tense 'dialogue' with the image, she stabs it, whereupon the Prince enters through another doorway, with the words: '¡Válgame Dios!/ ¿Quién me ha herido?'. Eugenia is at first speechless: 'paso de mármol', a neat allusion to the 'living' portrait: art and life have momentarily swapped places. By means of the

wounded portrait ('este retrato que en tierra/ herido está, y profanado'), Divine intervention ('el cielo santo') has seen justice done, and then works repentance in the wayward Prince. Moxica's play is ordinary enough, but its climax and the moment of sympathetic magic, worthy of Wilde's Picture of Dorian Gray, is startling, and to the best of my knowledge, unique. In this treatment of the falling-portrait device, there is more melodrama than inspired artistry of the kind to be found, most particularly, in Tirso's two versions.

As I said at the beginning of this paper, the falling-portrait device is only one of many ways in which those who wrote for the Spanish stage in the seventeenth century incorporated portraits in their plays. Mystique was clearly involved: the fascination aroused by life-size portraiture still exists, and Pirandello (in Enrico Quarto) is among modern dramatists who have tapped that powerful source of suspense. For many writers of fiction as well as drama, the ambiguity implicit in the phrase vivo retrato - something created through artistry that was alive and yet was inanimate - constituted a profound and enduring source of inspiration.

Notes

(1) See, for example, Moreto's playlet El retrato vivo (1650s) where Juan Rana is persuaded that he is his own portrait and that his real self is elsewhere (Ramillete de entremeses y bailes ed. Hannah Bergman, Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970, 323-33). Compare the Entremés del retrato de Juan Rana, by Sebastián de Villaviciosa (also 1650s), where a small boy called Juan Ranilla emerges from the finished portrait, announcing to Juan Rana that 'de vuestras gracias soy el inmediato', and persuades the sitter to take charge of him (Seville: Joseph Padrino, no date; an eight-page suelta bound with others: British Library, 11725.aa.3/41). There are other examples in Spanish theatre and in the French commedia dell'arte repertoire of the period.

(2) I refer throughout to the accessible Austral edition, published with El condenado por desconfiado (7th edn, Madrid, 1968; 1st edn, 1943): for this episode see 38-39. I have checked (and adjusted) the text of passages I quote against the edition by Alice Huntington Bushee and Lorna Lavery Stafford of the Princeps 1634 version (Mexico: Mexico City College Press, 1948).

(3) La próspera fortuna de Rui-López Dávalos, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles vol. 43: Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega, tomo primero ed. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (Madrid, 1881), 437-63. The falling-portrait episode is on page 451. The dramatist was also known as Damián Salustrio (or Salucio) del Poyo.

(4) In this context see, for example, the Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso el Sabio 3 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1889), II, no. CCLXXXV, 397a-399b, where a nun is prevented from leaving a chapel to elope with a young 'cavaleiro' when an image of the Virgin blocks the way out. An earlier French version of the same story is told by Gautier de Coincy; see 'Drei Wunder Gautiers von Coincy' in Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie VI (Halle, 1882), 339-346, especially 340b. These two versions are narratives, whereas an anonymous French version presents the incident in dialogue form, and the choice of words bears comparison with Del Poyo's treatment; see Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages 8 vols, ed. Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert (Paris:

Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1876), I, 325-26, especially ll. 360-66; cf. La próspera fortuna (n. 3 above), 451. This strengthens the possibility that Del Poyo adapted the falling-portrait scene from a dramatic version of the Marian miracle in Spanish, or a Jesuit (?) play in Latin.

(5) In Luis Vélez de Guevara's play, El amor en vizcaíno (1614-37, perhaps 1615), Carlos carries around his neck the 'copia peregrina' of the beautiful Estrella 'en un joyel': see edition by H. Ziomek (Saragossa: Clásicos Ebro, 1975), 69. A naipe portrait is broken in La burgalesa de Lerma (1613) and ¡Ay, verdades, que en amor...! (1624) by Lope, and in Donde está su dueño, está su duelo (1610?-20?) by Guillén de Castro.

(6) Dido y Eneas (1613-16), in Obras 3 vols, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez (Madrid: Biblioteca Selecta de Clásicos Españoles, 1925), I, 185. This image (of Dido's dead husband) seems to come to life and threaten her: 'Parece que la figura/ de la tabla se desvía'(185). The sword ('espada desnuda y sangrienta') which replaces the portrait seems to point to her heart, foreshadowing her suicide using Aeneas' sword at the close of the play, when she realizes that 'ésta es la [espada] que vi pintada'(203). This device of the swivelling image is used three times (with about 50 lines to change the hidden images) by Diego Muxet de Solís in El hermitaño seglar, as in this first example: 'Descúbrese un lienzo, en un artificio, que pueda dar vuelta, y en él pintados algunos emperadores gentiles [...] Da vuelta el artificio, y descúbrese otro lienzo, con los fines trágicos de algunos gentiles'. In this play it is Abraham who causes the images to move, so as to confound his tempters. See Comedias humanas, y divinas (Brussels: Fernando de Hoeymaker, 1624), 307-11.

(7) This picture is in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and is illustrated, for example, in José López Rey, Velasquez (London: Studio Vista, 1980), page 50.

(8) See Del Poyo's play (n. 3 above, 443-44) where a comic innkeeper's boy raids Villegas' Flos sanctorum to attempt an exorcism 'lleno de santos y cruces el vestido'. Tirso evidently decided that a prefiguration of the protective portrait episode made dramatic sense, but not one in comic vein. For the queen, in Tirso's play, as lioness (native of León) and Argos, see 12-13, 62 and 76.

(9) See El Criticón 3 vols, ed. Evaristo Correa Calderón (Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1971), I, 76. Compare the phrase 'haciendo Jano a todo cuerdo'(I, 136). See also the addition by Benito Remigio Noydens (1674) to Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco's note on prudencia, which links Janus, Prudence and Alciatus (Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española [1611], Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979).

(10) For example, the young king Ferdinand is twice 'discovered' early in the play, and in each case we are invited to view him in terms of portraiture; he is his father's image: 'en quien Don Sancho/ su valor cifra y retrata'(13), and a 'retrato del amor' and 'cifra de la discreción' to his loyal subjects (25-26). Later, for a remorseful traitor, the queen 'será la imagen/ de cuyos piadosos pies/ espero levantarme'(31). Later still, the queen maintains that her innocence will stand out against treachery 'cual la ciencia/ junto a la ignorancia oscura,/ y entre sombras la pintura'(62). Towards the close of the play the Infante don Juan states that he still loves the queen 'sin que el tiempo haya borrado/ con injurias y prisiones/ de mi pecho su retrato'(81).

(11) I quote from the suelta edition of around 1646 (British Library: 1072.h.6/9), which differs from the text as offered by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori in Comedias 2 vols (Madrid: Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1907), II, 355-56. Apart from discrepancies of punctuation, the most interesting feature in the suelta is the practical advice on how to use weights to ensure that the desired effect is achieved. The use of the command form ('esté don Juan') would also seem to indicate that the suelta was based on the author's manuscript, or (more probably) on an acting script. While Cotarelo suggests that the play was written after 1629, and that it is therefore not by Tirso (II, xxi-xxii), Ruth Lee Kennedy dates the play around 1621-22, and expresses no doubts about Tirso's authorship (see 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that Brought it Forth', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America LVIII, 1948, 1184, n. 94).

(12) At one point Juan says of the Count that 'en él temo retratada/ la persona de mi Rey' (Cotarelo edition, 352); according to the Count, Elena's face is 'la imagen divina del sol', fame paints

('pinta') her modesty, and she is the cifra of his hopes (339); for Juan she is an ídolo, and Elena describes herself as 'de la lealtad trasunto'(350 and 351).

(13) Her maid describes their predicament: 'Engracia. Llevo sin paciencia el ver/ que si no labra o dibuja/ curiosidades tu aguja/ no tenemos qué comer'(349).

(14) For example, in the 253 pages that make up the first book of his Arte de la pintura (1638), Francisco Pacheco uses the terms valiente and valentía to denote artistic excellence at least 33 times. The evidence indicates that this term came originally from Italian art criticism. Francisco Rojas Zorrilla, in his version of the falling-portrait device, has the image of a dead king fall and trip up one of his murderers, causing confusion and, indirectly, avenging the sitter's treacherous death. As with Tirso's highly-charged images, the portrait appears to threaten the guilty spectator, and seems to come alive: 'del lienzo se despega'; it has vida and alma; it is so faithful ('fiel') and has such valentía that it intimidates. Here, as in Tirso's Firmeza, Rojas is using the terminology of art appreciation combined with a literal meaning to create a kind of sombre pun in keeping with the mood of his play. (See Morir pensando matar, printed in 1642, ed. Raymond R. MacCurdy, Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1961, 115-18).

(15) Arte de la pintura ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 2 vols (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956), I, 74 and 43. At one point Pacheco translates Horace to show that 'las cosas percebidas/ de los oídos, mueven lentamente;/ pero siendo ofrecidas/ a los fieles ojos, luego siente,/ más poderoso efeto/ para moverse, el ánimo quieto'(I, 220). As far as the Christian sacraments, and especially the Eucharist, were concerned, the faculty of sight yielded pre-eminence to the ear, 'el oído'. This supremacy was dramatized as early as the sixteenth century in the anonymous Farsa del sacramento de los cinco sentidos (in Colección de autos, farsas, y coloquios del siglo XVI, 4 vols, ed. Léo Rouanet, New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1901, III, 316-27), and later became a regular feature of Calderón's autos sacramentales.

(16) The play is El marido más firme (1620-21); the scene concludes with the following lines:

Fílida. Hacerla [ie. tabla] quiero pedazos.
Aristeo. ¿Cómo, si por alto vuela?

(Tórnase el retrato a su lugar).

See Biblioteca de Autores Españoles vol. 190: Obras de Lope de Vega, tomo xiv, Comedias mitológicas y comedias históricas de asunto extranjero ed. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1966), 153.

In a minor scene shortly afterwards (162), Lope balances this falling-image episode with another when we see Eurydice send a maid to search for a miniature of Orpheus which has fallen from (we suppose) around her neck:

Dantea. ¿De dónde se desató
el retrato que perdiste?
Eurídice. De aquestas cintas. ¡Ay, triste!

(17) For accounts of a sacred image that (for example) changes colour, see Alonso de Espinosa, Del origen y milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria (Seville: Juan de León, 1594), fols 124ᵛ-125ʳ and fols 146ᵛ-147ʳ. For a story where a dagger hanging by a door falls and wounds a man, thereby indicating his guilt (the victim acknowledges that 'por permisión divina estoy herido agora'), see Juan de Timoneda, El patrañuelo ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1958), 38-52. Mateo Alemán tells of a shield in Coimbra which reputedly fell whenever a king or prince of Portugal died (Vida de San Antonio de Padua, Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1607, fol. 16ʳ).

(18) 'Caiga por dos cordeles el retrato de la que hiciere la Eurídice', El marido más firme (n. 16 above), 153.

(19) I refer to the accessible Austral edition (Madrid, 1961), and once again have checked the passages I quote against the critical edition by Everett W. Hesse (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955).

(20) Published in the Parte diez y siete de comedias nuevas y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de Europa (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1662), fols 190ᵛ-209ᵛ.

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